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OF THE

NORTH RIDING

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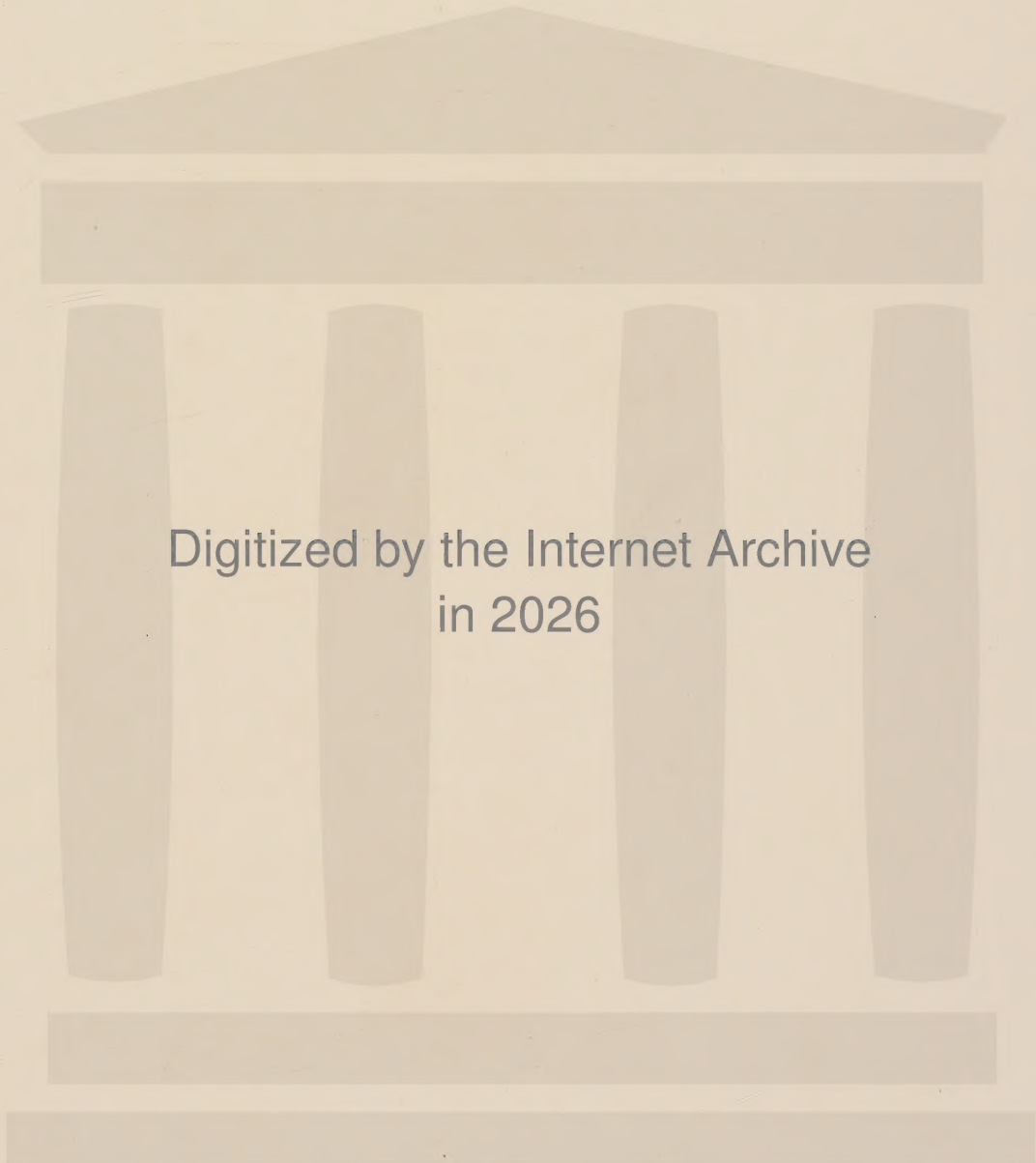

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RIEVAULX ABBEY.

THE EARLY HISTORY

OF THE

NORTH RIDING

BY

WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.

HEADMASTER OF THE MIDDLESBROUGH HIGH SCHOOL

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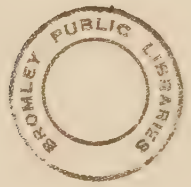

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IN APPRECIATION OF GREAT KINDNESS.

PREFACE

THE North Riding is very rich in historical material, and there are few of the great movements in English history in which men from North Yorkshire have not played a worthy and, in many cases, a conspicuous part.

This material has been used in such books as Atkinson's "History of Cleveland," Young's "History of Whitby," Hinderwell's "History of Scarborough" and Ingledew's "History of Northallerton," which are justly regarded as valuable contributions to the study of local history. Gaskin's "Old Seaport of Whitby," Grainger's "Vale of Mowbray," Bogg's "Romantic Richmondshire" and similar books have given useful information in a more popular form. But all these works deal with only a part, sometimes a very small part, of the area. This book is an attempt to give a general view of the Early History of the North Riding as a whole, to show how local history is related to that of the nation, and to give an account of the conditions of the Riding in early times.

The references will show that considerable use has been made, not only of local histories, but also of the records of mediæval chroniclers and the publications of the Surtees and the Yorkshire Archæological Societies.

The author has tried to make each chapter complete in itself, and this has sometimes necessitated the repetition of details common to two or more sections. Occasional reference has been made to

York, Boroughbridge and other places lying just outside the borders of the North Riding. The last chapter, dealing with pedigrees, will not appeal to many readers, but will, it is hoped, prove useful for reference.

The author has received most generous help from gentlemen whose recent researches have extended and corrected the information given by earlier writers. He is especially indebted to Mr. W. M. I'Anson, F.S.A., who has given permission for the use of the very valuable articles on North Riding Castles which have appeared in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*; to Mr. Wm. Hornsby, B.A., for permission to use the papers on Prehistoric and Roman times which he has contributed to the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* and the *Review of Classical Studies*; to Mr. Gerald Simpson for help in connection with the Roman occupation; to Mr. F. Elgee for information as to Prehistoric and Roman roads. Grateful acknowledgment must be made of the assistance derived from the articles written by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A., on Pre-Conquest Sculpture in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*; from Dr. Wm. Farrer's "Early Yorkshire Charters" and Mr. J. W. Clay's "Extinct and Dormant Peerages of the Northern Counties."

The manuscript of the book has been read by Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson, Mr. W. M. I'Anson, F.S.A., Mr. W. Brown, M.A., and Mr. S. W. Rawson, M.A., who have given very valuable advice and offered most helpful criticism. The author is indebted to his wife, to Mr. S. W. Rawson, M.A., and to Mr. C. A. Willis, who have read the proofs.

He offers his sincere thanks to those who have supplied the photographs and sketches from which the illustrations are taken, and particularly to Mr. W. M. I'Anson, F.S.A., Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A., Dr. J. L. Kirk, Mr. Harold Hood, Mr. Peter Hood,

Mr. Godfrey Bingley, Messrs. Smith & Co., Pickering, Mr. E. Highfield, B.Sc., Mr. J. J. Burton; to the authorities of the British Museum, the Council of the Yorkshire Archæological Society, and the Curators and Councils of the Sheffield, Whitby and York Museums, and of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

The author's task has been facilitated by the policy of the Middlesbrough Public Library Committee, in whose Library he has found nearly all the books he required. He thanks Mr. Baker Hudson, the Borough Librarian, and his staff for courteous and effective assistance.

High School,
Middlesbrough,
June 1st, 1924.

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CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC TIMES

NEOLITHIC MEN

THE earliest inhabitants of Yorkshire were the men of the New Stone Age who came into the country probably from the shores of the Mediterranean Sea; since their time there has been no break in the succession of inhabitants. The newcomers were similar to the Basques of Northern Spain; their average height was about five feet and a half; they had long, narrow heads, dark complexions and black hair. Their weapons and implements were skilfully made of highly polished stone; they could spin wool and weave cloth; they bred cattle and grew corn. Prof. Boyd Dawkins considers that to these old inhabitants the "small, dark Yorkshire men and women of to-day owe not only their dark hair and eyes and long heads, but the taste for horse-flesh, which, as everyone knows, is one of the attributes of the dwellers in this county."

They buried their dead in long barrows, which are the oldest sepulchral mounds in England. Several have been found in North Yorkshire; one measured by Canon Greenwell at Gilling was 140 feet long, about 50 wide and from 5 to 8 feet high; another at Over Silton was 105 feet long and 30 wide; others have been found at Wass and Scamridge. The bodies buried in these long barrows usually show signs of burning, and the bones are separated one from another. This dislocation is due not to cannibalism, as some have supposed, but to the removal of the bodies of great men from their original graves for re-burial with others in a common barrow; the remains of fourteen broken bodies were found in the barrow at Scamridge. No metal has been found in a long barrow, and flint weapons and pottery are of rare occurrence, although the men of the New Stone Age were skilful workers in flint. Neolithic remains have been found in great abundance near Malton, Pickering, Seamer and Scarborough; axes have been found at Whitby, and ground celts near Thirsk; a skull belonging to the late Stone Age was dug up in Durham Street, Middlesbrough. The most interesting remains of the period, the Devil's Arrows, are found near Boroughbridge, just over the border of the West Riding. These are three enormous blocks of millstone grit, which

still show the marks of the tools with which they were shaped. One is eighteen feet high ; the others are each twenty-two and a half. The object of these monoliths is doubtful ; they may have been memorials of the dead or connected with the worship of the sun.

THE MEN OF THE BRONZE AGE

It was a totally different race who left most of the prehistoric remains in which the North Riding, and particularly the eastern moorland, is so rich. The men of the Bronze Age came from the east of the Rhine, perhaps from the country lying to the north-east of Switzerland, and Lord Abercromby[1] suggests 2000 B.C. as the approximate date of their arrival in Britain.

The newcomers differed in build and appearance from Neolithic men. They had short skulls, prominent cheekbones and jaws and large teeth ; their features were forbidding ; their hair was brown. They came in two great divisions ; first a bronze-using race of hunters and warriors, and later a more civilised people, who had learned to make tools of iron. Flint could not withstand bronze nor bronze iron. The short Neolithic men were conquered by the newcomers, whose greater bodily strength and superior weapons gave them a double advantage ; the men of the Bronze Age themselves could not withstand the more effective weapons of those of the Iron Age, who subdued the whole country. The old inhabitants, even the descendants of Neolithic man, still survived, but they became the subjects, often the slaves, sometimes the wives of their conquerors ; the round skulls of the latter and the long heads of the former are often found in the same barrow. The great majority of local camps, earthworks and burial mounds of the Riding belong to the Bronze Age, in spite of the fact that most of the remains found are made of flint, few of bronze, and very few of iron. No hard and fast line can be drawn between the different ages of prehistoric man, and the manufacture of flint implements continued until the beginning of historical times.

CAMPS AND ENTRENCHMENTS

There was little danger of a hostile attack along the dales, for the low-lying ground was covered with pathless forest, and full of treacherous swamps through which no enemy could win his way. But the uplands were open. Rough tracks, the course of which has often been followed by modern roads, ran along the crests of the hills, and these were fortified by a series of entrenchments. To

[1] " Bronze Age Pottery," Vol. II., p. 109.

Dr. J. L. Kirk.

See page 6.

BEAKER, THORNTON-LE-DALE. 7″ × 5″.

The Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1911.

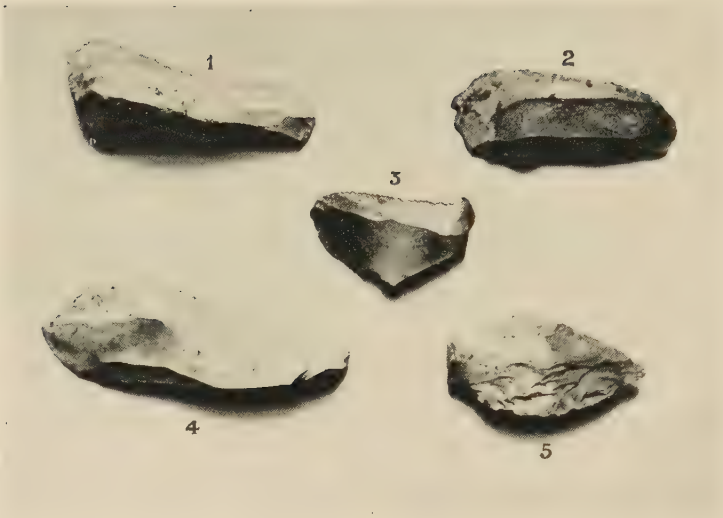
F. Elgee.

See page 2.

ROUND HEADED AND LONG HEADED SKULLS.

Middlesbrough Museum.

[To face page 2.



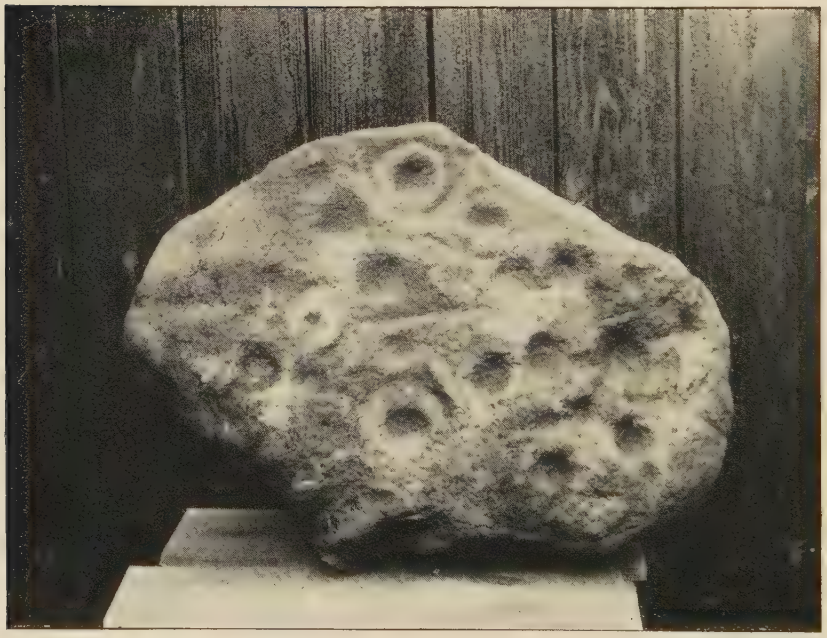
Dr. J. L. Kirk.

See page 11.

FLINTS FOUND NEAR THORNTON DALE.

1, 3—Saws. 5—Spear or Javelin Head.

The Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1911.



See page 11.

STONE WITH CUP MARKINGS.

Yorkshire Archæological Journal.

the south-east of Eston Nab is found a long series of entrenchments which defended the hills lying south of the valley of the Esk, and extended, though not continuously, from Westerdale Moor to Egton High Moor. They consist generally of double trenches and mounds, but in some places the lines of defence are triple, while the higher ground between Fryup and Danby Dale is guarded by four trenches. These earthworks were often faced with stone on the southern side, and were probably constructed to resist an attack from the south.[1]

The camp on Eston Nab was about 250 yards long, 100 yards wide and 3 acres in extent. It was surrounded by a ditch and a rampart, and seems to have had four gates. Some writers consider that this camp formed the base of the series of entrenchments by which the Cleveland Hills were defended; but if this theory were correct, the southern side, from which an attack could easily be made, would have been sufficiently strong to stand a siege. This does not seem to have been the case. The northern side was the strongest, for it stood upon a precipitous hillside rising above the Coatham Marshes. The north, and not the south, was the point from which danger might arise, and the camp was probably constructed to serve as an outlook from which the entry of enemy vessels into the mouth of the Tees might be easily observed.

The Scamridge and Givendale Dykes lie on Ebberston Moor to the north-east of Pickering, and run parallel to each other for several miles, usually, though not always, along the crests of the hills. In some places they consist of eight or ten parallel ditches and mounds, with a depth of ten feet; in others, of a single mound and a ditch little more than two feet deep, probably intended to drain the fortifications and ensure a safe foothold for the defenders. If, as seems probable, the Bronze Age entrenchments at Flamborough, which are incorrectly named the Danes' Dyke, were the stronghold of invading hordes, the Scamridge Dykes would be either the outposts of the invaders or defences made to check their progress by the inhabitants.

Long lines of entrenchments extended along the Howardian Hills near Castle Howard, and the Black Hambledons, which contain many remains of prehistoric man, were protected by the famous Casten Dykes. The North Dyke is a fosse which extends for half a mile, and is about seven feet deep at its western extremity. The South Dyke is a mound of earth about one-sixth of a mile in length. Ampleforth Moor is guarded by a triple line of dykes near which lies Studforth Ring, a rectangular enclosure which may have been used as the burial place of the men who guarded the Dykes. Stud-

[1] "Memorials of Old Whitby," Atkinson, p. 61.

forth Ring, according to another theory,[1] is merely a cattle fold. "Ford" or "forth" is the local name for a fold; there is no exterior fosse, and the interior depression, found in no recognisable British camp, may have been simply a watering trough.

The great enclosure of about eight hundred acres at Stanwick is said by some writers[2] to be an old British camp. Leland, writing in Tudor times, was doubtful: "The dikes and hilles were a campe of men of warre, except menne might think they were ruines of sum olde towne."[3] Local remains of the Iron Age have been found in the locality, but not within the entrenchments, and it is most probable that these latter were of much later date. Their exact purpose cannot be determined without excavation, but they may be the remains of the enclosure of a mediæval deer park.[4]

All entrenchments were not military works; some were boundary lines dividing the territories of different clans. Of these the best local example is Scots Dyke, an earthwork consisting of a bank twenty-five feet high and a ditch about twelve feet wide running along the ridge between the valleys of the Swale and Tees from Barforth-on-Swale to Grinton-on-Tees, and passing near the great enclosure at Stanwick.

The plough has destroyed most of the earthworks that once existed in the Vale of York, but the British camp in the angle of the Codbeck and the Swale at Topcliffe, and long lines of entrenchments at Kirby Wiske, still remain to remind us of the dangers of prehistoric times.

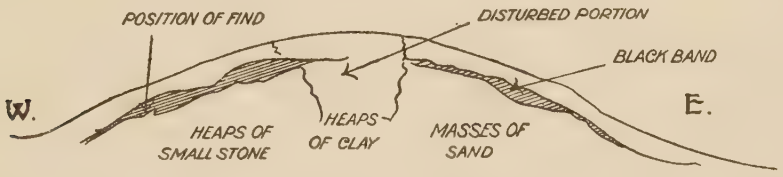
ROUND BARROWS

The round barrows in which the men of the Bronze Age buried their distinguished dead are found in great numbers on the Yorkshire Moors, and especially above Egton, Sleights, Wass, Sutton and Ebberston. They were not confined to the moors, and the remains of one were found a few years ago during some excavations in Scarborough College Cricket Field.[5] They were built on high ground in order that the memorials should be conspicuous. They differ greatly in size; the smaller, often composed of stones lightly covered with earth, are two or three feet high, and from twelve to sixteen broad; the larger, sometimes strengthened at the base by a circle of stones or drained by a shallow trench, vary from four to seventeen feet in height and from twenty to a hundred feet in diameter. The large barrows are generally found singly, sometimes in twos, as on Two Howes' Rigg near Goathland; three are found together on

1 "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. II., p. 64.
2 Wooler, *Y. A. J.*, Vol. XXIII., p. 402.
3 "Itin.," Vol. IV., p. 27.
4 "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. II., p. 62.
5 *Y. A. J.*, Vol. XXI., p. 111.

Three Howes' Rigg on Egton High Moor, but this number is rare and is never exceeded. The smaller barrows, however, are often found in groups.

Many members of the family or clan helped to make the barrows, and perhaps the modern custom of throwing earth upon the coffin is a survival of the far distant times when all helped to pile the earth on the burial mounds of their chiefs.[1] As a general rule, barrows were made of material from the neighbourhood, built up basketful by basketful, and often arranged evenly in layers; but Canon Atkinson found one composed partly of whinstone blocks, which must have been carried three or four miles over moor and swamps to their final resting place near Freeborough Hill. The outer portions of existing barrows were often utilised again for secondary interments, and the remains of nine bodies, representing at least three different burials, were found in one on Skelton Moor.[2]



Dr. J. L. Kirk.

Section of Barrow, Thornton-le-Dale.

The Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1911.

Although most of the barrows belong to the Bronze Age, some are of later date, and many were re-opened for later burials by Romans and Danes.

The method of burial varied. Unburnt bodies have been found, but the bodies were generally cremated for purification, and the spirits of the dead were supposed to have drifted away in the smoke to their abiding dwelling place. Sometimes, as in the case of a barrow at Slingsby, the body was burned in a hole in the ground, and the mound was built up over the hole in which the burned bones had been left. After cremation the bones were often placed in urns, which were buried a little below the surface of the ground; sometimes stone cists were used to receive the remains, and one such cist found at Boulby[3] measured three feet six inches in length, three feet two inches in breadth and two feet two inches in depth. In one case the bones had been deposited in a grave hewn out of the solid sandstone; in a barrow near Brotton Mr. Hornsby found

1 Greenwell, "British Barrows."
2 Atkinson, "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish," p. 145.
3 Hornsby and Laverick, "British Barrows round Boulby," *Y. A. J.*, Vol. XXV., p. 48.

portions of a round skull in a coffin made of the hollow trunk of an oak tree. The place of primary interment was always in the centre of the base of the mound, and was sometimes guarded by one—very rarely by two—small stone circles built up within the interior of the barrow. The famous tumulus of Obtrush Roque [1] in Farndale had an outer circle of twenty-six broad stones set on

Dr. J. L. Kirk.

Skeleton found in Barrow near Thornton-le-Dale.

The Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1911.

edge, and an inner circle of the same number of small stones, within which was found a cist of four flat stones placed upright.

POTTERY

Pottery of various kinds has been found in the barrows.[2] "Cinerary Urns," the largest vessels found, vary in height from about five inches to three feet, and were used to receive the bones of the dead after cremation. Next in size are vessels measuring from five to ten inches in height. These were called "drinking vessels" by Sir Richard Hoare, but they are too porous to hold liquid, and were probably used to contain the food necessary to sustain the spirits of the dead on their journey to the spirit world; Lord Abercromby calls them "beakers." The "food vessels" are smaller than "beakers," and their name indicates their purpose. The smallest vessels found measure from one to four inches in diameter and slightly less in height; they are often perforated, but

[1] Roque is the usual form. It is really "Rook," a Yorkshire word meaning a heap of stones.
[2] "Memorials of Old Whitby," Atkinson, p. 60.

their purpose is doubtful. Some writers have thought they were lamps, others suggest that they were used as braziers to carry sacred fire from the family hearth to the funeral pyre. They are often called " incense cups," but we have no evidence of the use of incense by prehistoric man.[1]

There is no doubt as to the relative age of these vessels. The beakers are the oldest, and are found almost invariably with uncremated bodies. Food vessels are generally found deposited with unburnt bodies, although sometimes they contain cremated human remains. Cinerary urns belong to a later age than food vessels, and usually contain burnt bones ; incense cups, which Lord Abercromby more accurately calls " pigmy cups," [2] are generally found with—and sometimes inside—cinerary urns.

As a rule interment below the surface is earlier than burial on or above the surface, inhumation precedes cremation, and food vessels precede cinerary urns. Few food vessels have been found in Cleveland, although they are fairly numerous in the Riding. Canon Atkinson found none on the Cleveland Moors, but recent investigation has led to the discovery of three near Hinderwell, two at Warsett, one at Boulby and others at Lythe.[3] Some barrows found near the coast are obviously earlier than those on the moors.

The pottery, of excellent workmanship, is all hand made, and there are no signs of the use of a potter's wheel. It is ornamented sometimes with lines or dots made by a twisted thong or some sharp instrument, sometimes with impressions made by the potter's fingers or nails on the moist clay. These vessels, which are unsuited for household use, were probably made only for burials ; domestic pottery was plain and hard-baked, and is rarely found in sepulchral mounds.[4]

BRITISH VILLAGES

In many places on the moors are found circular depressions which have given rise to much controversy. All of these pits are round, but this is their only common quality ; they differ widely in size, in arrangement, in number. The Killing Pits on Goathland Moor vary from three to thirty feet in diameter, and were from ten to eleven feet deep ; the original depth of those near the Scamridge Dykes was only three feet and a half. On Roseberry Topping the pits are shaped like " a frolicsome letter S," and extend in irregular formation for about two miles along the slopes of the hill and the neighbouring moors ; at Holey Intake, in Glaisdale, they are crowded

1 See " Bronze Age Pottery," Abercromby, Vol. I., p. 17, Vol. II., p. 7.
2 " Bronze Age Pottery," Vol. II., p. 7.
3 Hornsby and Stanton, " British Barrows near Brotton," *Y. A. J.*, No. XCV., p. 262.
4 Greenwell, " British Barrows," pp. 81-105.

together in a narrow enclosure; on Danby Low Moor they run in two parallel lines, and are contained within two lines of ramparts; at Egton Grange they cover an area of about four acres and a half, and are surrounded by a ditch. The Ref Holes in Westerdale, the Stone Hag Pits on Blakey Moor, the Hell Holes on Hawnby Moor and the Dry Heads in Harwood Dale afford further examples.

The pits are generally situated near entrenchments, burial mounds are found in the immediate neighbourhood, and it is clear that in prehistoric times the districts in question were thickly populated. In other parts of England similar depressions are undoubtedly the remains of old hut dwellings, and the local pits were long regarded as British villages. Ord [1] says that the pits on Roseberry were "sufficient to afford room for a whole tribe of Brigantes"; Phillips [2] thought that the Killing Pits "gave the idea of a village," and his earliest investigations led Canon Atkinson to accept the theory.

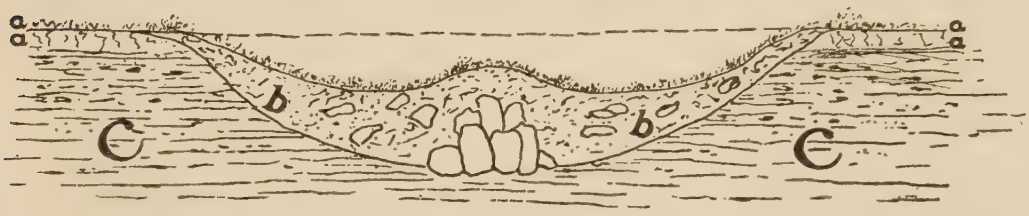
In 1861 Joseph Bewick pointed out that the pits occurred on or near the outcrop of seams of iron ore, and Atkinson adopted the view that they were not British dwellings, as he formerly supposed, but mediæval iron workings, sunk centuries after the last of the Britons had died. He asserted that the iron was obtained by the bell-pit system, that is, "by a series of pits or shallow shafts worked down to the level of the seam, so as to enable the sinkers to win all the ore at the bottom of each shaft, and as much besides as they could reach all round, by the process of undermining the circular shaft as far as it was safe to do so." [3] But in July, 1893, Mr. J. R. Mortimer [4] carefully excavated one of the Killing Pits, reached the bottom at a depth of eleven feet, but found no trace of ironstone, no signs of tunnelling, and no bell-pit. In 1912 about twenty pits on Roseberry Topping were carefully examined by Mr. J. J. Burton. Mr. Burton [5] states that "in no case did the old floor of the pits extend into the jet rock or go down to the ironstone. There was not the slightest evidence of any bell-pit character. The ironstone below the pits was undisturbed and intact." No ironstone occurs on the moor where the Scamridge pits are found; the seam of ironstone which crops out near the Danby Moor pits is not worth working; the pits in Holey Intake are found near the outcrop of a workable seam of ironstone, but if they had been iron workings they would have been sunk on the outcrop.

It is clear that no single theory will give an explanation of all the pits. The Ref Holes were mediæval ironstone workings;

[1] "Cleveland," Vol. III.
[2] "Rivers, Mountains and Sea Coast of Yorkshire," p. 203.
[3] "Forty Years," p. 168.
[4] Mortimer, *Arch. Journal*, 1896.
[5] Letter to the Geological Survey, 1916.

some of the Killing Pits are the holes from which blocks of limestone have been excavated to make burial cists or boundary stones; from others calcareous shale may have been dug to form a flux to reduce the ore of mediæval ironworkers; the Scamridge pits are the beginnings of lines of entrenchments which were constructed by digging shallow pits along the proposed line and joining up the pits by continuous earthworks.[1] Some of these depressions were due to subsidence; the Hell Holes on Hawnby Moor were caused by the dissolution of calcareous strata below.

The pits on Danby Low Moor are probably the remains of British villages. Their depth was from four to four and a half feet—not too great for easy entrance and exit; their diameters varied from nine and a half to eleven and a half feet, and it would not have been difficult to throw a roof across this space. Owing to the growth of peat the ground is so damp now that the holes are full of water except in the driest weather, but it seems probable that the peat is of recent formation, and in prehistoric times the



J. J. Burton.

Cross Section of Pit.

aa.—Herbage and soil; the herbage being moor grass and tufts of very poor quality, and the soil a mass of old fibre and decomposed matter.
bb.—Loose stones and peaty soil.
cc.—Undisturbed shale; bottom of alum shale or top of jet shale.

site may well have been dry enough for habitation. The pits afford convincing proof of careful design. They are arranged in two main groups, separated by a small stream; the Eastern group includes twenty-eight pits, the Western sixty-four, a hundred yards behind the former are six more. Each group consists of two parallel rows of pits placed opposite to each other with a broad path between; the excavated earth has been used to make two ramparts parallel to the pits. These pits may therefore be regarded as an old British village, probably contemporaneous with the howes near by, which formed the burial places of the chiefs.[2]

It is clear that the pits on Roseberry Topping were not iron workings, but the evidence at present available does not justify a positive statement that they were pit dwellings. The pits are situated in an excellent defensive position, and are protected by

[1] J. R. Mortimer, *Arch. Journal*, September, 1895.
[2] Mortimer, *Yorks. Geol. and Polyt. Soc.*, July, 1898.

entrenchments. They vary in depth from two to four feet, but in one case a shaft about four feet in diameter was sunk to a depth of eight feet. In many cases large stones were piled up in the centre as if to support a pole for the roof, and in some pits Mr. Burton found evidences of fire and a large quantity of charcoal. The cross section of his excavations was somewhat as shown on page 9.

In one pit Mr. Burton found pottery of the twelfth or thirteenth century, and in another roughly carved stones, to which no date has been assigned. His general conclusion is that " there is nothing in what I have so far found to justify the opinion that the pits are ancient British settlements, but on the other hand there is nothing to disprove it in any way."

The pits in the Holey Intake at Glaisdale have not been excavated. But they too occupy an excellent defensive position; they are protected by entrenchments, and resemble those on Roseberry Topping in size and shape, although they lie more closely together. The evidence suggests a similar origin in both cases, but until further investigation has been made, any final conclusion is impossible.

LAKE DWELLINGS

The necessity of protecting themselves from hostile attacks led men to build their houses on piles driven into the bottoms of lakes and rivers, and the remains of lake dwellings were discovered in Costa Beck, near Pickering, in 1893. The dwellings were built on a small island, which was connected by a causeway with the bank of the stream. The causeway was carried on two parallel rows of piles placed at right angles to the flow of the beck, and measuring from six to ten inches in diameter. The remains, which were buried about ten feet below the present surface, included the bones of four persons, of the broad-headed prehistoric ox and of wolves and foxes. A small black earthenware urn was also found, but there were no traces of metal. It is difficult to fix the period of this old settlement, but it may have been a refuge of the men of the New Stone Age who had fled before the invaders of the Bronze Age.

STONE CIRCLES

A circle of stones with a diameter of thirty-six feet, and enclosing a smaller circle, has been found on Cloughton Moor, near Scarborough, and other stone circles have been found in Stainton Dale, in Sleddale [1] and on Hardhurst Moor. There seems some reason to suppose that these, like Stonehenge, were temples for the worship of the sun, and several of the remains mentioned above were arranged

[1] Near Kildale.

according to the stars or cardinal points. Prof. Phillips found that the cist he discovered in Obtrush Roque was carefully set according to the points of the compass ; Mr. J. R. Mortimer thought that the barrows may sometimes have been associated with star worship, and that they were arranged to represent the position of stars, especially of the Great Bear. He says, "near Ugthorpe Rails (seven miles west of Whitby), on the side of the Guisborough Road, two stone pillars stand erect, having a cluster of conspicuous howes between, forming the figure of Charles' Wain." The evidence of sun and star worship is of great interest, but it is hardly strong enough to justify definite statements on the subject.

STONE IMPLEMENTS

Many flint weapons and implements have been found in barrows and near entrenchments. The country around the Scamridge Dykes is very rich in these memorials of the past. A flint factory at Aysgarth supplied arms and tools to the neighbourhood, and on Ampleforth Moor the cunning workmen of ancient days made flint articles in great abundance. The commonest are arrow heads, sometimes barbed, sometimes plain, which could be fitted to a wooden shaft and used for war or hunting. Thin flakes split along the line of cleavage served as knives, and thicker pieces with one sharp edge and a rounded portion for the hands were used to scrape the skins from which clothes were made. Celts were rounded pieces of stone about six inches long with sharp edges, and these, when fastened with thongs to a wooden handle, served as axes, or could be grasped by the hand and used as chisels. Stone hammers were similar in form to modern tools. Domestic utensils included stone querns, whetstones and whorls or spindles. A considerable amount of skill was necessary for the manufacture of stone instruments, especially in the case of hammer heads, through which a hole was bored to receive the handle.

There are no traces of carving on any of these articles, but cup and ring markings have been found on pieces of sandstone at the Peak, Hackness, Pickering and near the Scamridge Dykes. Stones pitted with cup markings are not uncommon in the barrows ; one barrow near Hinderwell contained nearly one hundred and fifty.[1] Our authorities differ as to the meaning of these cup markings ; they may be memorials of primitive hut burials, in which the hut a man had occupied during his life became his tomb after death ; they may have been offerings by which the friends of the dead man showed their respect. As the cups are frequently

[1] Hornsby and Stanton, *Y. A. J.*, No. XCV., p. 267.

arranged in groups of three, five, seven and eight, they may have been connected with numeration.[1] The theory that they were connected with sun-worship is not accepted by Lord Abercromby, who points out that these markings belong to the early Bronze Age, while sun-worship was not introduced until late in the period. He considers that they refer to the worship, not of the sun only, but of the whole host of heaven.[2]

BRONZE IMPLEMENTS

Although most of the prehistoric tools and weapons found in the Riding belong to the Bronze Age, the amount of bronze is small. In Cleveland very little has been found, although an exception must be made in the case of an important bronze hoard that was dug up on Roseberry Topping, which included socketed celts with loops, socketed gouges, a chisel, a hammer, a sickle-shaped instrument, a bronze mould for making celts and pieces of unworked copper. A bronze celt was found in sinking a pit shaft at Boosbeck. Bronze remains have also been found in the country south of Cleveland. A bronze sword was found near Ebberston. It measured twenty-seven inches long, it had a ridge in the middle and two grooves near the edge on each side. Bronze daggers, varying in length from four and a half to eight inches, have been found near Cawthorne Camp, at Scamridge and on the moors near Scarborough ; a flat spear head has been found at Cawthorne, and a leaf-shaped one near Scarborough.

IRON

Very little prehistoric iron has been found in the North Riding, but instances of chariot burial, which is a characteristic of the Iron Age, have been discovered at Seamer and Cawthorne. In the latter case the iron tyres of the two wheels, portions of the wooden chariot pole, of the hubs and of four spokes were found in a barrow, but no bones remained. The chief remains of the Iron Age in the North Riding are bronze, and these are far superior in design and workmanship to those of the Bronze Age. The harness fittings of the chariot at Cawthorne were of bronze, and very fine specimens of late work have been found near Stanwick.[3] These comprise iron chariot rims, bronze harness mounts, cheek pieces and linch pins, fragments of chain mail, and an ornamental bronze buckle of

1 " Vict. County Hist.," Vol. I., p. 379.
2 " Bronze Age Pottery," Vol. I., p. 79.
3 " Vict. County Hist.," p. 389, and " British Museum Guide to Early Iron Age," p. 130.

oriental workmanship. Some of the horse trappings were enamelled, and afford proof of the great skill and good taste of the craftsmen who made them.

ORNAMENTS

Pins and brooches of bone, which have been found in some barrows, show that in the case of unburnt burials, the bodies were clad in some kind of clothing. Jet ornaments are a feature of the discoveries made in barrows near the coast ; fifteen neatly perforated jet beads were dug up in William Howe, near Egton Bridge, and a ring of jet about an inch in diameter was discovered near Pickering. The neighbourhood of Pickering has produced a number of ornaments of local jet. The finest was a necklace consisting of nine conical studs ; thirteen cylindrical beads, a square centrepiece and a pendant and ring of the same material have also been found.

GENERAL

These remains enable us to form an opinion as to the manners and customs of the prehistoric inhabitants of the Riding.

The construction of earthworks, camps and barrows was a most laborious task. The tools used were deer horn picks, wooden spades, and wicker and hide baskets ; all the work was done by hand, and the material was carried on the backs of the workmen. Only a large and well organised community could have supplied the necessary amount of labour, and all the efforts of the workmen would have been useless without wise and skilful direction. It is obvious that the people who constructed these great works had got beyond the stage when the family is the sole bond of union ; they must have been organised in clans and tribes ruled by powerful chiefs.

The men of the Bronze Age were probably sun-worshippers, and their custom of burying food and weapons for the use of their dead shows that they did not believe that death was the final end of life, and that they looked for a further existence in the spirit world.

They hunted the red deer, the wolf, the fox and the wild boar, but they depended for food upon the corn they grew and the domestic animals they reared.

They may have retained the savage custom of slaying at the funeral of a chief his wife, children and slaves, but the fact that bodies of women have been found in important positions in barrows suggests that they had advanced beyond the stage when a wife was merely her husband's chattel.

Their flint tools and implements prove their manual skill ; the

remains of bronze and iron show that they had learned the art of smelting and fashioning metals, and that the latest of the prehistoric inhabitants of the district had considerable power of design and good taste as well as manual dexterity. Their rings and bracelets show that they did not neglect the adornment of their persons.

But while it is clear that these old inhabitants of Yorkshire were not mere savages, they were inferior in civilisation to the people of the South of England. Their country was remote and supplied little material for commerce. They maintained no such trade connections with the Continent or the enterprising Phœnicians as existed in the South of England. The workmanship of their tools and weapons compares unfavourably with that of their contemporaries; the amount of bronze is small, of iron negligible; a few articles of gold have been dug up at Scalby, Bowes and Swinton, but no traces of ivory or amber, which have been discovered in Wiltshire and other southern counties, have been found in the North Riding.

BRONZE CELT.
Found on Roseberry Topping.
Sheffield Museum.

BRONZE SOCKETED CHISELS AND GOUGES.
Roseberry Topping.
Sheffield Museum.

BRONZE LEAF-SHAPED SWORD.
Found at Ebberston.
Sheffield Museum.

BRONZE AND IRON LINCH PIN.
Found at Stanwick.
British Museum.

See page 12.

[To face page 14.

To face page 15.]

See Chapter II.

MAP OF THE NORTH RIDING DURING THE ROMAN OCCUPATION.

F. Elgee.

CHAPTER II

THE ROMANS[1]

THE BRIGANTES

IN the early part of the first century the country lying between the Humber and Mersey on the South and the Tyne and Solway Firth on the North was occupied by a powerful Celtic tribe who were called Brigantes. Their name is said to mean highlanders or mountaineers, but Professor Rhys considered that it meant the free men or privileged race. They were a warlike people, relying for success in battle on broadswords, darts and pikes, which are said to have been the origin of Britannia's trident. Their chiefs wore plumed helmets, breastplates of bronze and leather or chain armour, and carried shields which were painted blue to distinguish them from those of other tribes. In time of peace the Brigantes wore coloured tartans and trousers fastened tightly above the ankles.[2]

The geographer Ptolemy, who wrote about 140, said that their territory reached "from sea to sea," and mentioned Catterick, York and Aldborough among their towns.

At Aldborough[3] or, as it was then called, Iseur, in the middle of the first century, reigned the wicked Cartismandua, "Queen of the city of great and black stones." She sought the help of the Romans in her attempt to replace the husband she despised by the armour-bearer who had gained her affections. To win their support she treacherously gave up to them Caradog or Caratacus, who, after valiantly resisting the Romans in South Wales, had fled for refuge to Iseur in 52. The Romans took their captive to Rome, led him in chains through the streets, and brought him into the presence of the Emperor Claudius. "I had horses, men, arms and wealth," he said to the Emperor. "Do you wonder that I was unwilling to lose them? Slay me if you will, and I shall soon be forgotten. Preserve my life, and I shall be an eternal

[1] Additional information will be found in "The Romans in Cleveland," by Mr. F. Elgee, Commondale, Yorks.; published by Messrs. Hood & Co., Ltd., Middlesbrough.

[2] Rhys, "Celtic Britain," p. 285.

[3] Just over the boundary of the North Riding.

memorial of your mercy." His manly bearing gained him life and freedom, and, as he gazed upon the splendid buildings of Rome, he wondered " that you who possess all these things should covet my little thatched cottage in Britain." The Brigantes, in their anger at Cartismandua's treachery, took up the cause of her husband Venutius. The Queen was compelled to flee south with the Romans who had come to help her and the Brigantes remained unconquered.

Southern Britain was gradually overrun, and Petilius Cerealis, by successful campaigns between the years 71 and 75, broke the power of the Brigantes and commenced the conquest of Yorkshire. Tacitus[1] says that " Petilius Cerealis struck terror by an attack upon the Brigantes, who were computed to compose the most populous state in the whole province. Many battles were fought, some of them attended with much bloodshed, and the greater part of the Brigantes were either brought into subjection or involved in the ravages of war." The great soldier-statesman, Julius Agricola, continued the work of Cerealis. " He continually harassed (the Brigantes) with sudden incursions and ravages. Having alarmed and terrified them sufficiently, he next tried the effects of good usage and the allurements of peace. By this wise and prudent conduct, several communities, which till then had maintained their independence, submitted to the Romans, gave hostages, and suffered garrisons and fortresses to be placed among them. These strongholds he established with such judgment as effectually secured all those parts of the country which then had been visited by the Romans."[2] Unfortunately Tacitus gives very few details. We cannot locate the " garrisons and fortresses " to which he refers; we do not know if the Tees was one of the estuaries which, his son-in-law tells us, Agricola explored; the enemy against whom these operations were directed seems to have been the Brigantes of the Pennines, but even on this point we have no definite statement.

The conquest of the Brigantes had been no easy task, and the poet Juvenal urges those who seek military renown " to attack the forts of the Brigantes." We know that they caused trouble in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161) by raiding the lands of some Roman tributaries, but this is the last time they are mentioned by Roman writers. " Henceforth, with slight exceptions, we hear only of ' the Britons.' "

To hold the land their arms had won the Romans built towns, established military outposts, and made roads to enable them easily to move their troops to any point of danger.

[1] " Agricola," Vol. XVIII.
[2] Tacitus.

TOWNS

Roman towns were built on the sites of British settlements at York (Eboracum), Aldborough (Isurium) and Malton. York was founded by Agricola about 78. It was the capital of the Northern province of Maxima Caesariensis, which extended from the Humber to Hadrian's Wall, and was called "Altera Roma," or Second Rome, owing to the splendour of its buildings and its commercial and military importance. It was the seat of government of the province, the centre of important roads, the headquarters of the Ninth, and, after 120, of the "Victorious, Pious and Faithful" Sixth Legion. To York merchants flocked from all the ends of the earth, and through it marched soldiers of all nationalities to garrison the camps of Catterick, Piercebridge and Cawthorne, to guard the coast, or to defend the wall that Hadrian built from Wallsend to Carlisle to keep back the Picts and Scots. York was sometimes honoured with the presence of the Emperor himself. Severus set out from York in 208 to fight the barbarians who had broken through Hadrian's Wall; to York he returned in triumph after repairing the Wall and inflicting on the Caledonians punishment so severe that their name henceforth disappears from history. There, too, on February 4th, 211, the old hero died, worn out with the toil of war and government, and broken hearted at the conduct of his son, the infamous Caracalla, who was suspected of poisoning his father. After his father's death, Caracalla slew his brother, Geta, in his mother's arms, and as a token of his sole rule, ordered Geta's name to be erased from all the inscriptions in which the two brothers' names had appeared as joint rulers of the Roman world. York, too, was the residence of Carausius, who had used his position as Admiral of the fleet to make himself master of Britain, and it seems probable that he was assassinated here by Allectus in 293. When the Roman Empire was divided, Constantius, the Emperor of the West, took up his residence in York; here his son, Constantine, was proclaimed Emperor on his father's death in 306.

The Romans rebuilt the old Brigantian town of Iseur, which under the new name of Isurium[1] became one of their strongest stations in the north. It extended over nearly sixty acres, and was surrounded by walls about a mile and a half in circumference, varying from twelve to sixteen feet in thickness. Three gates, east, west and south, broke the line of the wall. The houses of the old city were large and beautiful. Their floors were covered with tesselated pavements and mosaics, seven of which may still be seen in their original positions, and red glass, "as beautiful as

[1] *Y. A. J.*, Vol. XII., p. 413.

rubies," adorned the interiors. The houses were warmed by hot air carried through pipes from a heating chamber or hypocaust below the floor ; a room called the Lararium was set apart for images of the lares or household gods, and it is possible that a corridor still standing at Aldborough was either one of these sanctuaries or a court of justice. The tradesmen lived in humbler dwellings, and at Aldborough has been discovered the house of a pinmaker who made the bone pins which are preserved in the museum.

Malton, which was a much smaller town, was protected by a double earthen rampart and two small forts. The most interesting relic which has been found here is the sign of a goldsmith's shop,

FELICITAS SIT GENIO LOCI SERVULE
UTERE FELIX TABERNA AUREFICINA.

" May happiness be to the genius of this place. O Servulus enjoy prosperously thy Goldsmith's shop." [1]

The Romans had smaller settlements at Hovingham, where a hypocaust and pavements have been found ; at Castle Howard, where pottery was manufactured ; at Middleham, where a hypocaust has been found, and probably at Whorlton. The establishment of the Roman power gave security to the country districts and encouraged wealthy landowners to build large country houses or villas at Well and Oulston.

MILITARY CAMPS

The sites of Roman camps and military posts were chosen for different reasons. Those at Piercebridge [2] and Greta Bridge were intended to overawe the Brigantian settlements of the west ; the Cawthorne camps kept in check the Brigantes of Cropton and the neighbourhood ; Thornborough, near Catterick, commanded Swaledale ; Bainbridge maintained the Roman power in Wensleydale ; the forts at Huntcliff and the Peak protected the coast from Teutonic pirates. Bowes and Stainmoor guarded the Western passes and ensured the easy passage of the troops to the western portion of Hadrian's Wall, while Piercebridge protected the eastern approach to the Wall. All the camps had to guard the roads on which they stood.

The most interesting Roman earthworks in the North Riding are the Cawthorne Camps between Pickering and Goathland. These are four in number. Two, lying to the east, are each six and a half acres in extent. One is square in shape and has rounded corners, the other has been less carefully constructed. It is probable that these camps date from Agricola's first campaign in 75 or 78, and that

[1] " Ryedale and North Yorkshire Antiquities," Frank, p. 183.
[2] Just across the Tees in Durham ; see Wooler, *Y. A. J.*, No. XCII., p. 431.

the former was used by legionaries, the latter by auxiliary troops. These were probably war camps. About two hundred yards to the west lies a square camp of four and a half acres, strongly protected by an embankment and by double, in one place triple, ditches. Near it lies an oval enclosure. The westerly camp seems to belong to the time of Hadrian. The camps stand on the crest of a hill which falls abruptly about 150 feet on the north, and renders an assault from that side impossible. No coins or pottery have been found at Cawthorne, and the camps were never permanently occupied.[1] The strong camp on Stainmoor had an area of twenty acres; the Church at Bowes stands within the circuit of the Roman earthworks, and the old ditch that protected the camp forms the moat of the later Norman Castle. At Greta Bridge the George Inn is built on the outer mound of the camp, which was about four and a half acres in extent. Bainbridge was a small camp of only about two and a half acres, and a military sanatorium was constructed on the top of Addleborough. Smaller camps were made in Egton Parish, and possibly on Ayton Moor, but these were probably occupied only during the summer; they were not permanent stations, and the Romans never completely occupied the North York moors. But the military importance of the Vale of York led to the construction of a number of permanent stations. The remains of Roman work have been found at Hovingham, Whorlton, and Thornton-le-Street. At Northallerton the Romans strengthened their position by fortifying the Castle Hills, in which two Roman wells, stone foundations and a number of Roman coins have been found.[2] Roman remains have been discovered in the immediate neighbourhood of Guisborough[3]:—the rim of a Roman bowl at Highcliffe, a helmet of bronze at Barnaby Grange, and Roman coins near Hutton Low Cross. The termination "borough" or "brough" is often a sign of proximity to a Roman fortified site, and the strategic importance of Guisborough would be noted by the Romans. Mr. Hornsby therefore concluded that Guisborough was fortified by the Romans, and in 1923 he succeeded in finding, in the Priory grounds, a ditch which is probably connected with a Roman fort.

THE COAST FORTS

The attacks of Teutonic pirates first became troublesome about the end of the third century, and proved very dangerous by the middle of the fourth. To protect the shores of Britain a new official

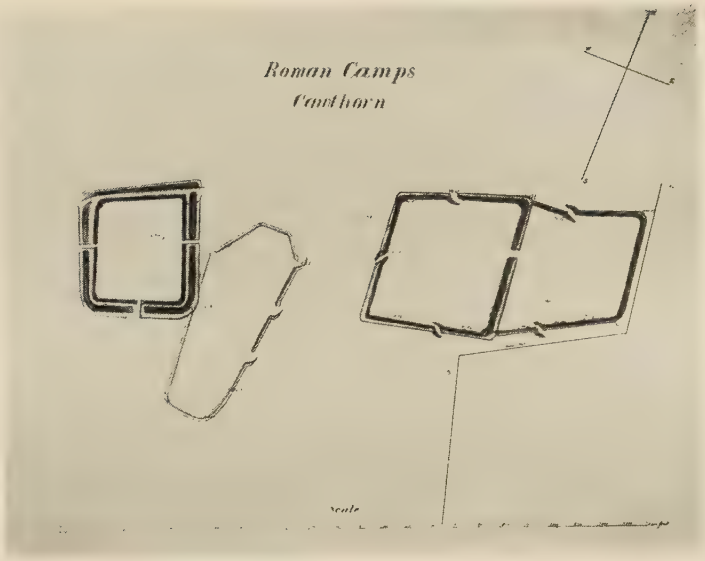
[1] The Camps are to be excavated shortly by Mr. F. Gerald Simpson.
[2] "The Romans in Cleveland," Elgee, p. 7.
[3] By Mr. R. Blakeborough and Sir Alfred Pease.

was appointed towards the end of the third century. This "Count of the Saxon Shore" exercised authority over the northern coast of Gaul and the shores of Britain from Hampshire to Norfolk. The defences of the Saxon shore were probably linked up with Hadrian's Wall by a system of coast defence extending from Shields to Skegness, and the Roman forts which protected the North Riding formed a very important part of the wider system. To guard against raids from the sea the Romans built small forts or signal stations at Huntcliff, commanding the Tees Estuary, Goldsborough, Whitby, the Peak, Scarborough[1] and Filey in the East Riding. These were placed on high ground commanding a wide view of the sea. They were strong enough to resist small parties of raiders, but their main purpose was to give warning of attack, and, if necessary, to summon from York a sufficiently large force to meet the danger.

The fort at Huntcliff[2] was 365 feet above sea level; in shape it was the segment of a circle; it was defended by a wall strengthened by two bastions and entered by a single gate protected by two guard chambers; a ditch encircled the wall on the landward side. Within a well in the fort were found broken pottery, a yard of brown cloth in a state of excellent preservation, a leather sandal and the bones of fourteen people, men, women and children. Certain features of the brain, and the fact that the left arm bone was stronger than the right, shew that one of the men was left-handed. Twenty-five coins were dug up in the camp, the earliest belonging to the reign of Constantius II., 337-361, the latest being one of the Emperor Arcadius, 395-408. The fort was probably stormed about the latter year, the defenders slain and their bodies thrown head downwards into the well where the remains were found by Messrs. Hornsby and Stanton in January, 1912.

The fall of the cliff, caused by extensive alum workings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has obliterated all traces of the fort which may have existed at Boulby, but the site of the one at Goldsborough was discovered by Mr. Hornsby in 1918, and excavated by him and Mr. Laverick in 1919.[3] This fort was constructed on high ground half a mile from the sea. The outer defence consisted of a ditch twelve feet broad and three feet eight inches deep. A solid causeway ten feet wide crossed the ditch and gave access to a gateway in the southern wall, the only entrance to the fort. The wall was four feet thick and strengthened by a bastion at each corner, the gateway was protected by two walls running into the fort and forming a passage ten feet long which led

[1] Prof. Haverfield, "The Journal of Roman Studies," Vol. II., Part 2.
[2] Fully described by W. Hornsby, B.A., and R. Stanton in "The Journal of Roman Studies," Vol. II., p. 215.
[3] *Y. A. J.*, "The late Roman Fort at Goldsborough," by W. Hornsby, B.A.



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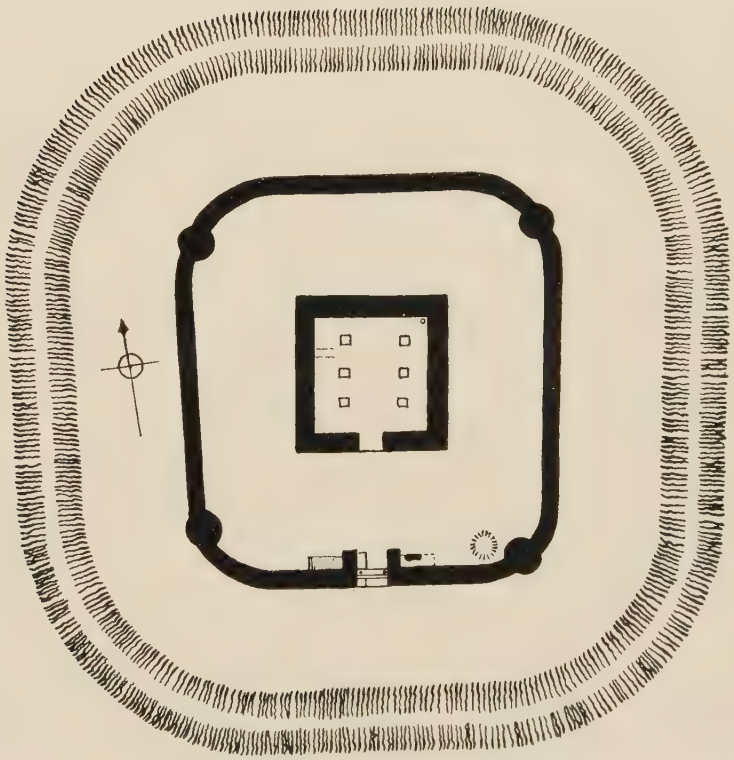


F. Gerald Simpson.

See page 20.

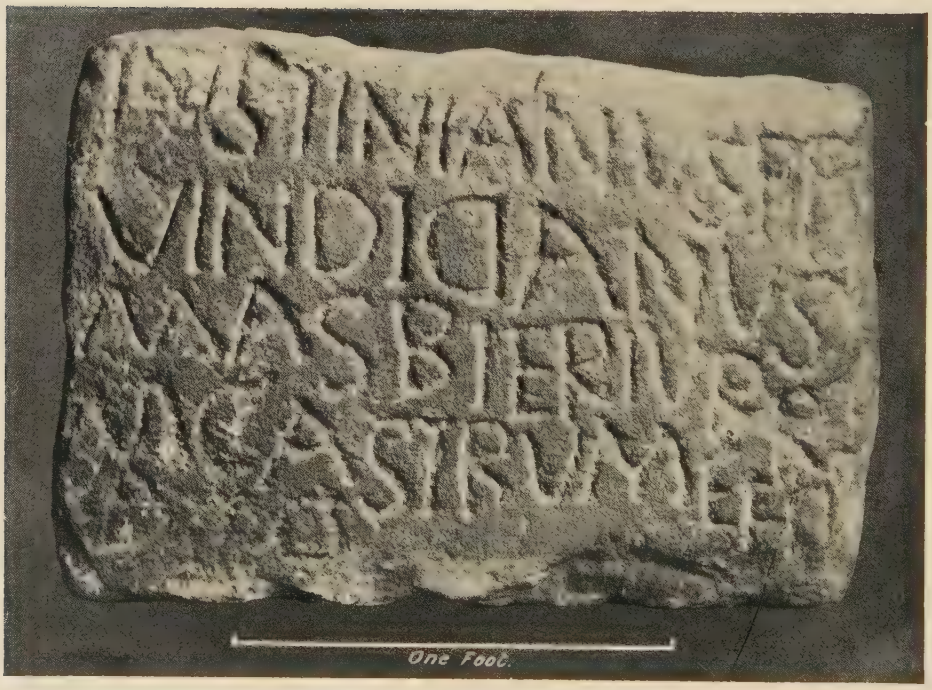
PLAN OF ROMAN FORT AT GOLDSBROUGH.

[To face page 20.

See page 19.

ROMAN BRONZE HELMET.
Barnaby Grange, near Guisborough.

British Museum.



See page 21.

ROMAN INSCRIPTION FROM THE PEAK.
Recording the building of a Coast-guard Fort.

Whitby Museum.

to an unpaved courtyard. In a well in the south-east corner of the courtyard were found three human skulls, a piece of cloth, and the bones of oxen and of two breeds of dogs similar to our spaniels and sheep dogs. In the centre of the courtyard stood an inner building, in the floor of which were six socket holes which had probably carried the beams that supported the roof. Within this building a small interior apartment had been formed by walling off the north-west corner. Upon an open hearth in the south-east corner the skeleton of a short, thick-set man lay stretched ; near its feet the skeleton of a taller man was found lying face downwards, beneath it was found the skeleton of a large and powerful dog, its head thrust close against the man's throat, its paws placed across his shoulders. "The man," says Mr. Hornsby, "was obviously an intruder, the dog one of the defenders." The floor of the building was covered with remains of bread, of oxen, goats, pigs, deer, hares, rabbits, crabs, mussels, limpets, whelks and periwinkles, which had formed the food of the garrison. The coins found included those of the Emperors Eugenius (392-394) and Honorius (395-423).

The site of the Roman fort at Whitby has not yet[1] been located, but the discovery of Roman pottery in the Abbey grounds suggests that the Romans did not neglect to avail themselves of this commanding position.

No foundations have been discovered on the Peak, but the existence of a fort is proved by an old inscription which was "dug up at the founding of the late Captain Child's hall in 1774,"[2] and is now preserved in the Whitby Museum.

JUSTINIANUS P P
VINDICIANUS
MASBIERIV P R
M. CASTRUM FECIT
A . . . . . O . . . . .

The lines may mean "Justinianus the commander (praepositus) Vindicianus . . . . . praefect of the soldiers (pr-m) built the fort, with excellent augury." It is highly probable that Justinianus was an officer of that name who left Britain for Gaul in 407, and in that case the fort belongs to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. Charlton[3] is clearly wrong in assuming that the inscription refers to the Emperor Justinian (527-566).

The Roman fort at Scarborough was situated within what is now the enclosure of the Castle. Mr. F. Gerald Simpson has not

[1] 1923.
[2] Young's "Whitby," Vol. II., p. 709.
[3] "Whitby," p. 43.

completed his excavations, but considers[1] that the plan was similar in general design and dimensions to that of the stations at Goldsborough and Huntcliff.

The evidence of the coins found at Huntcliff and Goldsborough led Professor Haverfield to conclude that the coast forts were built about 370, when Theodosius re-organised the Roman forces in Britain. The Ravenscar inscription points to a later date, and Mr. Simpson considers that these works were constructed during Stilicho's administration about 398. We have no certain evidence as to the date of their destruction, but we may reasonably assume that the forts were stormed and their garrisons put to the sword by invading Angles early in the fifth century.

ROMAN ROADS

Our information as to Roman roads in Britain is derived partly from local remains, partly from two documents, the Itinerary of Antoninus and the Notitia. The former was compiled about 140, and gives particulars of the chief roads and military stations that existed then. The latter, which dates from the end of the fourth century, deals with the distribution of Roman troops. In some places the old roads formed the boundaries of later parishes, and this fact assists us to trace their course.

The Latin word for a road—"Stratum," a paved way—survives in our word "street," and in such local names as Appleton-le-Street and Barton-le-Street to the west of Malton, Thornton-le-Street to the south of Thirsk, and Streethouses, a farm near Loftus.

The stratum was from ten to eighteen feet wide, often paved with cobbles or large stones, and raised in the centre to allow water to run easily into stone gutters at the side. Each side of the road was protected by a mound from three to four feet high, and this fact helps us to understand why the Romans used the expression "munire viam"[2] to denote road construction. Roman roads generally ran in a straight line up hill, down dale, across moor and fen, and smoke signals were sometimes used to ensure a straight course from point to point. In swampy places the roads were carried on a foundation of oak logs, or, as in the case of Leeming Lane, on a raised causeway. Distances were indicated by milestones, most of which have disappeared. One was found at Greta Bridge, which was inscribed "To the Emperors, our Lords Gallus and Volusianus (251-2)"; another at Aldborough mentioned the Emperor Decius, who was killed in battle in 251.

[1] Letter to author, 13th March, 1923.
[2] To fortify a way.

Roman surveyors shewed great skill in selecting the lines of their roads, which have been followed by later road-makers and railway engineers. Much of the Great North Road is built on Roman foundations; the highway from Malton to Hovingham still runs through Appleton-le-Street and Barton-le-Street, and the North Eastern Railway from York to Darlington runs parallel with the course of Ermine Street. Aldborough was the chief road centre of North Yorkshire, but York, Malton and Stamford Bridge were important junctions.

THE ERMINE STREET

The Romans made their first advance along the Vale of York, and the most important of their roads in the North Riding was the one they constructed along their line of march. The main road in the East of England was the Ermine Street, which ran from London through Lincoln to York. From York the Ermine Street was continued to Aldborough, where it was joined by two other great roads, the Watling Street and the Icknield Way. From Aldborough the road went north-west in a direct line to Catterick, coinciding for several miles with the modern Leeming Lane, still known locally as "The Street." The cobbles with which the Street was paved have been used for building, and may be found in large numbers in adjacent walls and farm houses. Passing Scots Corner the road ran due north to Piercebridge, where it crossed the Tees, and after dividing into two portions at Binchester, in the county of Durham, reached Hadrian's Wall at Corbridge and Wallsend. The other Roman Roads in the North Riding may be regarded as branches of the Ermine Street.

BRANCH ROADS

Two branch roads ran in a westerly direction. One branched off a little to the south of Well and passed through Middleham to Askrigg, which was connected with Catterick by a cross road that made a short cut across the moors. The other left the main road at Scots Corner and ran north-west through Greta Bridge and Bowes, then across Stainmoor to Kirby Thore. At Kirby Thore it joined the main road of the west, which here divided into two portions, both of which reached Hadrian's Wall, one at Birdoswald, the other at Carlisle.[1]

York was the starting point of an important road which ran through the "Long Street" at Easingwold to Thornton-le-Street,

[1] See large map in Codrington's "Roman Roads in Britain."

where traces were visible within the last few years. Here the road divided, one portion passed through Northallerton and joined the Ermine Street at Catterick; the other went about two miles east of Northallerton, ran through Welbury, and crossed the River Tees near Dinsdale. Another road left York where Bootham Bar now stands, and probably passed through Crayke, Newburgh and over the Hambledon Hills to Whorlton, and thence to the Tees.[1] A Roman road may have passed along Bilsdale to the mouth of the Tees.

WADE'S CAUSEWAY

An eastern branch of the Ermine Street ran from Lincoln to Malton, which was connected with York by a cross road through Stamford Bridge, and with Aldborough by another that passed through Appleton-le-Street, Barton-le-Street, Hovingham and Easingwold. Of these few traces remain, but much more is visible of the road that ran northwards from Malton towards Dunsley Bay or Esk mouth, the former of which has been usually identified with Ptolemy's Dunum Sinus.[2] The road passed through Barugh, where it was guarded by a small camp,[3] traversed the most westerly of the Cawthorne Camps, and crossed the Wheeldale Beck by a wooden bridge resting on stone supports. The large stones with which it was paved appear occasionally above the turf at Stape and on Wheeldale Moor; in one spot near Goathland, where the surface of the road has been laid bare, the paving and the upright stones that supported the sides may be seen lying in their original positions. The road is traceable on the west of Julian Park House; it seems to have gone down Lease Rigg, through a little camp, crossed the Esk at Grosmont and continued its course over Aislaby Moor in the direction of Dunsley. "The Causeway," says Drake,[4] "is just twelve feet[5] broad, paved with flint pebbles, some of them very large, and in many places it is as firm as it was the first day. A thing more strange, in that not only the distance of time may be considered, but the total neglect of repairs and the boggy rotten moors it goes over. In some places the agger is above three feet raised from the surface. The country people curse it often for, being almost wholly hid in the ling, it frequently overturns their carts laden with turf, as they happen to cross it." The road has been used as a quarry by local farmers, who have carried away tons

[1] Atkinson's "Cleveland," p. 53.
[2] "Memorials of Old Whitby," Atkinson, p. 64, and "The Romans in Cleveland," Elgee, p. 20.
[3] These earthworks have been generally accepted as the remains of a Roman camp, and are so named on the map facing page 15. But Mr. Simpson, as the result of a recent inspection, has concluded that they are mediæval.
[4] "Eboracum," p. 35.
[5] That is near Cawthorne Camps. In other places it is sixteen or seventeen feet broad.

of stone to make houses and farm buildings, and to fence the intakes they have reclaimed from the moors. It is sometimes called Wade's Causeway, from an old legend that it was built by a giant, Wada, to give easy passage for his wife's cows. His wife helped by carrying the stones in her apron, which was large enough to contain twenty cart-loads at once. Some great piles which dropped when the apron string broke are still to be seen on the moor.

At or near Dunsley, Wade's Causeway met a smaller road which ran from Huntcliff to Scarborough and connected the forts of the coast. In time of danger these two roads enabled the soldiers of York or Malton to bring prompt aid to any spot where invasion seemed imminent.

In addition to the roads already enumerated the Romans made a number of by-roads which can be located only with great difficulty. One ran from Whitby through Lythe High Street to Guisborough, and a continuation of this may have gone from Barnaby along Gunnergate[1] to Middlesbrough, where "Roman Road" perhaps indicates its course.

Roman Roads played a most important part in local history. They not only facilitated the movements of troops, but proved of great advantage to merchants, and were one of the reasons for the growth of trade which marked the Roman occupation of Britain. For hundreds of years they remained the chief means of communication in Britain, and the turnpike roads which finally replaced them were often made on Roman foundations.

ROMAN PLACE NAMES

There is no doubt that the Romans gave the names of Eboracum and Isurium to the towns they built on British sites at York and Aldborough, and that the camps at Thornborough, near Catterick, and Bowes were called Cataractonium and Lavatrae. The evidence of the Notitia enables us to identify Greta Bridge with Concangium. The tenth Iter of Antoninus suggests that Northallerton was Galacum, but Mr. Ross, with whom Mr. Elgee agrees, identifies Lancaster with Galacum, and the word "gala" usually denotes a harbour or river port.[2] From the words "(vallum cum) brachio caementicium" which he saw on an inscription at Bainbridge, Camden assumed that the camp was called Bracchium, but the words mean "(a rampart) with an arm (or extension) of shaped stone," and the Notitia shews that the Roman name for Bainbridge was Virosidum. Difficulty arises in regard to places on the first Iter, which gives the route from York to Derventio, Delgovitia and Praetorium.

[1] Near Marton, in Cleveland.
[2] *Bradford Antiquarian Journal*, October 1921, p. 13.

Derventio is said to be seven miles from York, Delgovitia thirteen from Derventio, and Praetorium twenty-two from Delgovitia. If the continuation ran to Bridlington, Stamford Bridge is Derventio, Malton Delgovitia, and Bridlington Praetorium, and the distances given agree with those recorded. Some authorities consider that Wade's Causeway is the road in question, and place Derventio at Malton, Delgovitia at Cawthorne Camps, and Praetorium at Dunsley. But Malton is seventeen, and not seven, miles from York, and this fact seems to shew that it could not have been Derventio, unless we assume that the writer of the manuscript put VII. instead of XVII. Derventio apparently means a town on the Derwent, and the weight of evidence is in favour of Stamford Bridge, although the name has been given also to Aldby and Kexby.[1]

GENERAL

We learn much of the life and customs of the Romans from the remains which have been found in different parts of the Riding. No relics of Christianity have been found in Maxima Caesariensis, with the doubtful exception of one piece of pottery marked with a cross, but as a Bishop of Eboracum attended the Council of Arles in 314, there is no doubt that Christianity was professed by some of the inhabitants of the province, and we have seen that Constantine, the first Christian Emperor of Rome, spent some time at York.[2] Many altars and inscriptions have been found containing the names of pagan gods or Emperors, who were honoured nearly as much as the gods during life and received divine worship after death. The Parish Church at Aldborough is built on the site of a temple of Mercury, and a statue of the god with his winged cap and rod entwined with serpents has been built into the wall of the vestry. A tablet in honour of the goddess Fortuna was set up at Bowes by Virius Lupus, the governor of the province. An inscription in honour of the Emperors Marcus Aurelius (161-180), Pertinax (193), Severus (193-211) and Geta was dug up at Greta Bridge in 1793,[3] and a blank space on the tablet shews where Geta's name [4] has been erased in accordance with the orders of his brother. Similar erasures have been found on an inscription from the Roman Wall which has been built into the crypt of Hexham Church, and in Egypt, and the fact that such orders were faithfully observed at opposite ends of the known world affords a convincing proof of the mighty power of the Emperors of Rome.

1 Codrington, " Roman Roads in Britain," p. 172.
2 The theory that Constantine was born at York is now discredited. Most authorities hold that he was born at Naïssus (Nish).
3 *Y. A. J.*, Vol. XXVI., p. 386.
4 Page 17.

The Romans were skilled in the manufacture of pottery, glass and bricks. They imported large quantities of Samian ware from their potteries on the Loire and Rhine, but do not seem to have manufactured it in Northern Britain. It ranged in colour from bright red to black, was covered with a fine glaze and ornamented with fruit, flowers, hunting scenes, processions and combats. Specimens have been found at Malton and Aldborough, where the museum contains an excellent collection of pottery. For domestic purposes coarser pottery of local manufacture was largely used. Most of the camps have supplied examples, and a large quantity found at Whorlton seems to indicate that there was a permanent Roman settlement in this place. A most interesting piece of pottery is an unbaked coffin of red clay, shaped like the sole of a boot, and over seven feet long. When discovered outside the walls of Aldborough it was full of human bones and ashes of oak, and it probably formed part of an old funeral pyre. The Museum at York contains a fine collection of Roman glass, but few specimens come from the North Riding, where the settlements were generally military, and afforded little opportunity for the use of glass. The large number of jet ornaments belonging to the Roman period which are preserved in the Museum strongly supports the theory that the Romans occupied Whitby.

The Romans often used bricks in their building operations; those of the second century are usually about one inch thick, and of finer make than the bricks of the third, which are not less than two inches in thickness. After the departure of the Romans the art of brickmaking died out in Britain, and was not generally revived for over a thousand years, although later builders sometimes used Roman bricks in their stone churches and castles.

Roman houses were warmed by air, which was heated in a "hypocaust," and carried through earthenware pipes to the various rooms. One such hypocaust has been discovered at Middleham.[1]

Roman baths resembled the modern Turkish baths, and contained hot and cool rooms. No soap was used, but bathers cleansed themselves by rubbing their bodies with strigils or scrapers. Baths have been found at Malton, Parish near Hutton Rudby, Hovingham, Aldborough and Bowes, where an inscription states that under the authority of the Governor Virius Lupus, the bath was rebuilt by a squadron of auxiliary troops. It is possible that a bath which has been excavated outside the south-east corner of the camp was the one in question.

A large number of coins from the time of the Emperor Nero (54-68) to that of Maximus (445) has been found not only in the towns, but on the moors, which were never permanently occupied

[1] *Y. A. J.*, Vol. VII., p. 462.

by the Romans. Six hundred silver Roman coins were found at the foot of the Castle Hill at Richmond, where there probably was a small station ; at Whorlton more than one hundred and fifty coins dating from Constantius II. (337-361) to Honorius (393-423), and some silver ornaments, were ploughed up in 1810 ; a collection of coins found at Ugthorpe included those of Nerva (96-98), Titus, who captured Jerusalem in 71, Marcus Aurelius (161-180) and his Empress Faustina. A hoard of copper coins found at Eston included some of Nero (50-68), and suggest that the Romans had made their way into Cleveland before the end of the first century. Many of these had been lost by the soldiers in their expeditions against the Brigantes, who continued to hold out in inaccessible places long after the time of Agricola. The discovery of dice at Aldborough shows that the garrisons who remained in the towns did not always keep their scanty pay, and the moulds for making false money which have been discovered at Catterick prove that some of the coins in use were not legal tender.

The Roman occupation brought many benefits to the North Riding. Trade flourished under the protection of the Pax Romana which the legions maintained. The Roman Roads opened up the country. Large tracts of moor and forest land were brought into cultivation. The iron of the Cleveland Hills was probably smelted, the lead mines of Arkengarthdale were worked, and a Roman ingot was found at Marrick stamped with the name of Hadrian. The millstone grit of the western dales was quarried for building, and for the manufacture of querns and other domestic articles.

The British auxiliary troops made excellent fighting men, and, although the pick of the Roman legionaries had been withdrawn from Britain by the usurper Maximus in 384, they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Picts about eleven years later. In 403 Stilicho, who was acting as Regent of the West for the young emperor Honorius, withdrew the Sixth Legion from York to defend Rome against the Goths ; the only Roman legion which remained was stationed in Kent, and the defence of the North was entrusted to British auxiliaries.[1] But their morale was weakened, and their numbers depleted by mutiny ; the sole remaining legion and many of the Auxiliaries were taken to Gaul by Constantine in 407, and never returned to Britain, and in 410 the Emperor Honorius, who was engaged in the double task of resisting his rival Constantine and holding Rome against the Goths, bade the Britons defend themselves against the Picts from Scotland and the Teutonic pirates. For a time their efforts were successful, and they routed the combined forces of their enemies in 429 in a great battle known as the Hallelujah Victory which was probably fought either in Yorkshire or the North

[1] " England before the Norman Conquest," Oman, p. 171.

Midlands.[1] But civil war weakened the power of the Britons. Twenty-seven years later they sent a despairing appeal to Rome for help. "The barbarians drive us into the sea—the sea throws us back upon the barbarians: we have only the choice between the two methods of death, whether we should be massacred or drowned." No help could be sent from Rome, and Britain was conquered by the Teutonic invaders.

1 "England before the Norman Conquest," p. 196.

CHAPTER III

THE ANGLIAN KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA

AFTER the departure of the Romans the Britons were too weak to resist the Teutonic pirates. The Teutons had driven the Celts from Germany and had settled along the shores of the Baltic ; the Jutes in Jutland, the Saxons in Holstein and the Angles about the mouth of the Elbe in the district now called Schleswig. The Jutes conquered Kent and the Saxons Sussex, Essex, Middlesex and Wessex. The Angles conquered the rest of Britain, which received from them its new name of Angle-land, or England.

THE ANGLES

The Angles were a tall, strong race with fair hair, grey eyes and round heads. They were united by the tie of blood rather than by obedience to their chiefs, and each family lived in its own village or "ham," protected by an enclosure or "tun." Each householder owned his house, and the plot of land in which it stood, but the corn land and pasture lying outside the tun belonged to the family in common. Outside the village fields lay a mark or border of waste, moor or forest, and any stranger who crossed the mark without blowing his horn would be slain as an enemy. The Teutons built no towns in Germany, and the love of home life, which is so marked a feature in England, may be an inheritance from these old family settlements.

Their religion was heathen, but not idolatrous. They worshipped the Sun and Moon ; Woden, the spirit of movement, whose power could be felt in the ebb and flow of the tide and the force of the wind, and who may have been the leader of their march to their German home. Thor was the red-haired god of Thunder, whose thunderbolts, possibly the stone axes of an earlier age, struck terror into the hearts of his foes ; Freya was the goddess of fruitfulness. The Angles believed in the existence of fairies, and passed their children and cattle through the fire to save them from evil spirits. They reverenced the wolf, the raven, the bear and the

boar, and the boar's head we eat at Christmas reminds us of the honour our ancestors paid to the animal. Their religion was full of gloom and terror. Bravery was their highest virtue, and they showed no mercy to the weak ; their heaven, Valhalla, was a place where gallant warriors fought and feasted for ever.

The Angles were originally farmers, breeding cattle and growing corn. But they soon found the spoils of the sea more profitable than the harvest of the land, and became daring and successful pirates. They crossed the North Sea in open rowing-boats, about seventy feet long and nine broad, and built of rough oaken boards. The boats were shaped alike in stem and stern, and each carried about one hundred and twenty warriors, whose shields hung over the bulwarks and protected them as they toiled at the oar.

The whole tribe of the Angles came over to Britain, bringing with them their cattle and property. Their old home was left unoccupied, and before many years the Anglian dialect died out in Schleswig.

They introduced into this country the organisation and social conditions with which they had been familiar in Germany. But there was one important change ; the struggle against the Britons increased the importance of the leader of the army. War begat the king, and the country between the Humber and the Forth became the Anglian Kingdom of Northumbria.

TRACES OF ANGLIAN OCCUPATION

The invaders probably entered the estuary of the Tees and found little difficulty in occupying Durham, which had been devastated by the Picts and Scots. Such names as Kilvington, Northallerton, Otterington, Stillington, suggest Anglian settlements in the Vale of York ; Hilton, Ayton, Stainton and Stokesley, where a field still keeps the Anglian name of the Acres, show that the Angles held land near the Tees mouth. Their chief settlement on the coast was Streoneshalh, which we know by its later Danish name of Whitby. The fertile Vale of Pickering was occupied by the conquerors, and some made their way north to Levisham and Lastingham ; many settled in such places as Sinnington, Middleton, Thornton, Allerston, Ebberston and Yeddingham, which still keep their old English names. But it is very doubtful if they made their way far up the Esk, the passage of which was difficult, if not impossible. The dense forests and dangerous swamps of the low-lying portions of Cleveland and the barren moorland heights of the Cleveland and Hambledon Hills gave little chance of plunder, and there are few traces of Anglian occupation on the Yorkshire moors. It is " unlikely that any English settlements existed on the western

moors,"[1] but the Angles seem to have made their way from the Vale of York into the dales, as specimens of the stonework of the period have been found at Kirby Misperton, Masham, Easby, Wensley and Wycliffe. Generally, however, the western boundary of their country may be indicated by a line drawn from Catterick to Boroughbridge.

THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND

Of the details of the conquest we know little. One legend tells us that King Arthur defeated the Angles on Eston Nab; another that he and the twelve knights of the Round Table are sleeping beneath Freeborough Hill; but the hero of the Britons lived far away to the south-west, and his great victory in 520 is commonly thought to have been won on Mount Badon, near Bath. But we do know that the invaders utterly destroyed much of what the Romans had left. The free life in the open country of Schleswig made them hate towns, and many of these were laid waste. The Roman remains at Aldborough still show signs of the fire which devastated the town, and York suffered greatly, although it was not completely ruined. The worshippers of Woden and Thor burned the Christian churches and slew the priests before the altars. "The priests and the people, without any respect of persons, were slain with fire and sword, nor was there any to bury those who were so cruelly slaughtered." But in spite of Bede's statement, the Britons were not exterminated. The conquerors often married Celtic women and spared the men for slaves; and long-headed skulls, which were often found among the men of the Bronze Age owing to their inter-marriage with the people of the Late Stone Age, have been discovered in many Anglian burying-places. The Britons remained in large numbers in those towns which escaped destruction, and seem to have taught their conquerors better methods of agriculture than they had practised in Germany. Those of the old inhabitants who had escaped death or slavery withdrew west of the Pennines and waged continual war against the Anglian Kingdom of Northumbria.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE LAND

After the conquest the "host" was settled on the land in tens and hundreds, and the members of these associations were mutually responsible for each other. In time the name of the association

[1] "Vict. County History of Yorks.," Vol. II., p. 73.

was transferred to the land they held, and the Riding was divided into Tithings and Hundreds. But the original division was personal; the amount of land held by different tithings and hundreds was different, and the area of the land to which these names were applied varied accordingly.

THE STORY OF NORTHUMBRIA

Northumbria[1] was divided into two parts, Bernicia to the north, and Deira to the south of the Tees, and while strong kings ruled over the whole kingdom, a weak monarch had to be content with the northern or southern portion. The first king of whom we have any record is Ida the Flamebearer, who, like all early Anglian kings, claimed descent from Woden. Ida in 547 "succeeded" to the Kingdom of Bernicia; the use of the word "succeeded" seems to indicate that he was not the first monarch of his line, although one account tells us that he sailed to Britain in forty ships and landed at Flamborough. His chief town was Bamborough, which he timbered and surrounded at first with a hedge, and afterwards with a wall. It seems highly probable that several of Ida's twelve sons fell in battle against the Britons, but his youngest, Ethelric, married the daughter of Ella, King of Deira, and on the death of his father-in-law in 588 became king of the whole of Northumbria.

The danger from the west was diminished by the warlike Ethelfrith, the son of Ethelric, who ruled over Northumbria from 593 to 617. "In those days," says Bede, "the Kingdom of Northumbria was governed by Ethelfrith, a most valiant king and most covetous of glory, who more than all the chiefs of the Angles, harassed the nation of the Britons, so that it would seem fitting to compare him with Saul, King of Israel, except for the one point that he was ignorant of the Divine Religion."[2] His early years were spent in conquering Deira; Edwin, the son of Ella and the rightful heir of Deira, fled for his life to the King of East Anglia. At the head of the united forces of Northumbria Ethelfrith marched against the Britons, probably along the old Roman roads wherever possible. Two great victories extended his dominions to the western sea. At Dawston, near the Solway Firth, in 603, he routed Aidan, the Christian King of Scots, and added part of Cumberland to his dominions. Ten years later, he utterly defeated the Britons of North Wales in a great battle at Chester, in spite of the presence in the British army of many monks from the great monastery at Bangor, who came to pray for the success of the Christians in their struggle with the heathen king. "If they are calling on their God against

[1] Oman's "England before the Norman Conquest," pp. 241-244.
[2] "Bede," Historia Ecclesiastica, p. 87.

us, they are also fighting against us, though it be not with arms, but with curses," said Ethelfrith, and in the fierce slaughter of the battle, 1,200 of the monks were slain.

EDWIN

On Ethelfrith's death in 617 Edwin returned, and obtained not only his own land of Deira, but the Kingdom of Bernicia as well. Like Ethelfrith he was a mighty warrior. He captured the island of Mona, and changed its name to Anglesea, the Angles' island. He defeated the Picts and Scots, and built Edwin's borough, or Edinburgh, to guard his northern frontier. His strong rule gave such peace to Northumbria that "a woman and her babe might walk scatheless from sea to sea in Edwin's days."

But in Edwin's day Northumbria gained a greater blessing than peace, for in 625 Ethelburga, a Kentish princess, and a Christian, came north to marry the Northumbrian king, who promised that he "would do nothing against the Christian faith which the maiden professed."[1] With Ethelburga came Paulinus, who preached Christianity to the heathen Angles. For a time Edwin refused to embrace the new religion for fear of offending the old gods, to whom he ascribed his successes in war. But a narrow escape from a murderer's sword led him to give more heed to the teaching of Paulinus, and, with his consent, his infant daughter and eleven members of his household were baptised at Easter, 626.[2] He himself set out to punish the West Saxons who had tried to murder him, and having returned from a successful campaign, in which he slew five kings and many people, he summoned a meeting of his wise men either at York or at Goodmanham, near Market Weighton, to listen to the pleading of Paulinus. Coifi, the high priest of Woden, supported Paulinus, because Christianity gave more certain promise of a future life than the old religion. "Life is like a sparrow flitting through your hall, O King! when we are seated round the fire at supper-time, when the winds are howling and the snow is drifting without. It passes swiftly in at one door and out at another, feeling for the moment the warmth and shelter of your palace, but it flies from winter to winter and swiftly escapes from our sight. Even such is our life here, and if anyone can tell us certainly what lies beyond it, we shall do wisely to follow his teaching."[3] The cause of Christ prevailed; Edwin embraced Christianity, and was baptised by Paulinus in a wooden church at York on Easter Eve, 627. This church was replaced by a stone building erected by Edwin, and some of the walls of Edwin's church have been thought to survive

[1] "Bede," Hist. Eccles., p. 120. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 122. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

in the crypt of York Minster. The example of the King was followed by his people, and Northumbria became Christian. Paulinus baptised many of the new converts in the River Swale, perhaps at Catterick or Brafferton.[1] This wonderful baptism is described in a letter of Pope Gregory the Great. "He did regenerate by lively baptism about 10,000 men, besides an innumerable number of women and children. Having hallowed and blessed the river called in English Swale, the bishop commanded by the voice of criers that the people should enter the river confidently two by two, and in the name of the Trinity baptise one another by turns. Notwithstanding so deep a current and channel, and so great a difference of sex and age, not one person took harm, all feebleness and infirmity was laid off in that river; whosoever was sick and deformed returned out of it whole and reformed."

The growth of Edwin's power had been viewed with jealousy by other kings. Cadwallon, the Christian King of North Wales, was eager to win back the land that the Northumbrians had conquered from the Britons; Penda, the heathen King of Mercia, wished to restore the old worship of Woden and Thor, and to weaken a kingdom which seemed likely to conquer his own. The allied forces of these two kings slew Edwin and broke the power of Northumbria in a fierce battle at Heathfield or Hatfield, near Doncaster, in 633. The king's body was buried at Streoneshalh, his head in the church he had built in honour of St. Peter in York. Queen Ethelburga fled to her brother, the King of Kent, and with her went Paulinus, who became Bishop of Rochester.

For a time the cause of Christianity seemed ruined, but James the Deacon, a disciple of Paulinus, remained in Yorkshire, spending much of his time at the little village of Akeburgh, near Catterick. The theory that Akeburgh is "James' town,"[2] and Hawkswell "James' Well" is not admissible. The former word means the Oaktown, the latter is called after some long-forgotten invader named Hawk. The skill of James as a teacher and musician averted the complete overthrow of Christianity; many who had relapsed into heathenism were won back to Christ, and when peace was established again the number of the faithful increased.[3]

OSWALD

On the accession of Edwin, Ethelfrith's son Oswald had fled to Iona, where St. Columba, the son of an Irish chief, had founded a famous monastery. Oswald was kindly welcomed by the monks of Iona. He renounced the heathen religion of his father, accepted

[1] "Bede," Hist. Eccles., p. 139. [2] Jacobi burgus.
[3] "Bede," Hist. Eccles., pp. 152-4.

Christianity, and proved by his saintly life the sincerity of his conversion. He returned to England determined to restore the power of Northumbria and to win it to the Irish Christianity which he had embraced. He succeeded in both his objects. He utterly routed Cadwallon near Hexham, and soon extended his sway over Deira as well as over Bernicia. At his invitation St. Aidan,[1] the great missionary bishop of Northumbria, came from Iona and settled on the island of Lindisfarne, which men called Holy Island, because of the saint who lived there. His preaching won many converts; his noble character won more, "for he taught none otherwise than as he lived among his friends"; to him must be mainly ascribed the final conversion of the Northumbrians. But Penda again took up the cause of heathenism, and at the battle of Maserfield, which may have been Oswestry,[2] 642, defeated and slew the Christian hero king, who, in the hour of his death, prayed "Lord have mercy on the souls of my army." Many churches were dedicated to his memory, and the village of Oswaldkirk, near Thirsk, is called after his name.

Simeon of Durham[3] says that Oswald's right hand, which had been cut off by Penda's order, remained undecayed until his own time; Bede tells how miracles of healing were wrought in the place where the saintly king fell,[4] and that thirty-nine years after his death a pestilence was stopped at his intercession.[5]

OSWY

Oswald's brother, Oswy, succeeded him on the throne of Bernicia, and for seven years Oswin reigned over Deira. Oswin was a noble king, "fair of face, tall of stature, courteous in manner and generous both to the nobles and to men of low degree."[6] He was a true friend to St. Aidan, to whom he gave a horse to carry him on his missionary journeys in Deira, and his kindness of heart won the deep love of the saint. "I know," said Aidan, "that this king will not live long. I never saw so humble a prince, and this people is not worthy to have such a ruler." Oswy of Bernicia was anxious again to unite Bernicia with Deira and to rule over the whole kingdom of Northumbria. He had married Edwin's daughter, Eanfled of Deira, who after the death of her father at Heathfield, had found refuge in the court of the King of Kent, where she had been brought up in the Roman form of Christianity. Oswy claimed Deira through his wife, and in 651 gained the kingdom by a great victory over Oswin near Catterick. His victory was sullied by a cruel murder,

[1] "Bede," Hist. Eccles., p. 159.
[2] Oswald's tree or town.
[3] "Sim. Dur.," Vol. I., p. 20.
[4] "Bede," Hist. Eccles., p. 177.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 279.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

for Oswin was betrayed by a false friend to whom he had fled and basely murdered by an officer of Oswy, either at Gilling near Richmond, one of the headquarters of the Kings of Deira, which was so important that it gave its name to the wapentake of Gilling West, or, less probably, at Collingham, in the West Riding, where Oswy founded a monastery in memory of his rival. An inscribed stone built into the tower of Collingham Church is said to have been the dedication stone of the monastery, and the inscription has been interpreted "Eanfled, this set up in memory of her cousins Oswy and Oswini." But Mr. W. G. Collingwood[1] says "it is certain that the name is not Oswini, and it is evident that the date of the design is much later than the seventh century." Twelve days later the good St. Aidan passed away, stricken with grief at the murder of his friend.

Northumbria was again united, and again did Penda, now nearly eighty years of age, attempt to break its power. Oswy offered him rich gifts as the price of peace, but Penda refused to withdraw his troops, and Oswy resolved to risk a battle. "If the barbarian will not be won over by our gifts, let us offer them to the Lord God as the price of victory."[2] He vowed to found twelve monasteries and to make his daughter a nun if God gave him the victory. His prayers were heard, and in a great battle at Winwoodfield, near Leeds, in 655, Penda's army, weakened by the desertion of his Welsh allies, was completely defeated, and amongst the slain was Penda himself. His death left Northumbria supreme, and ensured the triumph of Christianity.

But Oswy found foes in his own household. His son, Aldfrith, rebelled against him, but was routed near Scamridge Dykes; tradition says that a meadow long known as Bloody Close marks the site of the battle, and that Oswy's army encamped on the entrenchments at Scamridge, which were long known as Oswy's Dikes.[3] Tradition asserts that Aldfrith took refuge in Aldfrith's Hole, a cave near Ebberston, and he is said to have escaped to Driffield, where he died of his wounds.

His successes over Oswin, Penda and Aldfrith firmly established Oswy's authority, and Northumbria flourished exceedingly under him and his successor Egfrith. But its power was utterly broken by a great disaster. The Picts and Scots were dangerous neighbours, and their raids caused much distress in the north of Northumbria. Egfrith determined to punish them. The leading men of the kingdom gladly served in his army, and he routed the enemy with such slaughter that two rivers were filled with the slain, and his army crossed them dryshod over the bodies of their foes. But the Picts

[1] *Y. A. J.*, No. XC., p. 157. [2] "Bede," Hist. Eccles., p. 214.
[3] "Whitby," Young, Vol. I., p. 38.

regained strength, and Egfrith marched against them once more in 685. The good St. Cuthbert could not conceal his fear of the result. "Perhaps at this very hour the peril of battle is over and done," he said to his anxious friends. Soon a weary fugitive brought the news that the Northumbrians had been utterly defeated in Forfarshire, and that the bodies of Egfrith and his proudest nobles were lying on the barren moor of Nechtansmere.[1]

The Kingdom of Northumbria never recovered from the battle of Nechtansmere. In the eighth century civil war between rival claimants to the throne undid the work of Edwin and Oswy. Within a short period five kings were murdered, five were deposed, one was seized by his soldiers, shaved as a monk and forced to enter a monastery. Another, whose piety deserved a better fate, fled for refuge to the Picts, thinking that he would be safer with his country's enemies than with his treacherous subjects. Charlemagne, the great King of the Franks, rightly said that "the men of Northumbria were a deceitful and perverse nation, worse than pagans and murderers of their lords."

ANGLIAN BURIALS

Anglian burials have been found at Hob Hill Saltburn, Robin Hood's Bay, Broughton near Malton, Bulmer, Sowerby near Thirsk and in Wensley Park. At Hob Hill[2] over forty interments were found; in most cases the bodies had been cremated and the remains placed in urns, but out of twenty-four burials uncovered in 1910, ten were of unburnt bodies, one body had been wrapped in a hide before burial, and another placed in a coffin; of the last only the teeth remained. The metal discovered included one well-made long brooch of gilt bronze and portions of four others, bronze tweezers, a bronze ring attached to what was left of an oak bucket, iron buckles and knives and a fine specimen of an axe head. There were several necklaces of beads of crystal, jet and amber, which was regarded as a protection against witchcraft. The pottery had all been broken, either owing to disturbance for later burials or to allow the soul to leave the burial urn more easily when Woden's Ship came to carry it to Valhalla. The bodies lay north and south, and this position shows that the cemetery belongs to the early period of occupation before the Angles embraced Christianity; but the body found in Wensley Park was laid east and west, and this was a later and Christian burial. At Sowerby a shield boss and a sword marked the grave of an Anglian warrior; at Hawnby a bronze hanging bowl was the most important discovery; at

[1] "Bede," Hist. Eccles., p. 315 *et seq.*
[2] Hornsby, *Y. A. J.*, No. LXXXI., p. 131.

See page 18.

CAWTHORNE.
SOUTH GATE OF EAST CAMP.

Dr. J. L. Kirk.

Now being excavated by the Roman Antiquities Committee
of the Yorkshire Archæological Society.

See page 24.

WADE'S CAUSEWAY.

Messrs. Smith & Co., Pickering.

[To face page 38.

W. G. Collingwood,

LEAF SCROLL, NORTHALLERTON.

See page 40.

W. G. Collingwood.

See page 40.

TREE SCROLL, CROFT.

Seamer three silver gilt ornaments, set with carbuncles, were found. The well-known Whitby Comb, found in the old kitchen midden of St. Hilda's Abbey, was made of walrus ivory enclosed in deer bone, fastened with iron rivets. On it was carved in ancient runes the inscription, "May God look upon us, may God Almighty help our race."

ANGLIAN SCULPTURE

The introduction of Christianity was followed by the erection of churches in different parts of the Riding. The earliest churches were made of wood, for the practice of building with bricks had died out with the Romans, and was not revived until the Middle Ages; "there was a time when there was not a stone church in all the land, but the custom was to build them all of wood." It is difficult to determine in what places the early Anglian churches were built, but there is no doubt that one was built at Northallerton about 630, probably by Paulinus, and that the body of King Edwin, who fell in 633, was buried at a church at Streoneshalh; it is probable, too, that churches were built during the ninth century at Wycliffe, Kirby Moorside, and Lastingham. Other churches may have been built at Bedale, Hauxwell, Easby, Kirby Misperton, Masham and Hovingham. But although the old churches have long since disappeared, a number of local churches contain interesting relics of Anglian times in the shape of carved crosses or fragments of crosses, which were originally made for sepulchral memorials, and have been used as material by later builders. The Angles showed great skill both in the way they hewed stone and in their sculpture.[1] Their work is finely chiselled and clearly cut; the main outlines are curved, the horizontal lines are drawn freehand, and thus stiffness and rigidity are avoided.

Owing to the teaching of craftsmen from France and Italy these early sculptors were far more skilful than the Danes, who[2] were influenced by inferior Irish or Scottish models. Wensleydale seems to have been the centre of an Anglian school of Sculpture which flourished perhaps for a century, but specimens of the art are not limited to this district.

Anglian work is distinguished from Danish, not only by greater delicacy of carving, but by difference in subject. Old runic inscriptions with Anglian names are an infallible proof of early work, and tradition says that runes, or ancient lettering, were given to men by the god Woden. The most common form of early Anglian monuments is the cross head crowning a square cut shaft.

[1] For a full account of Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding, see W. G. Collingwood, *Y. A. J.*, Vols. XIX. and XXIII.

[2] Page 59.

It is generally true to say that Anglian sculpture is ornamented with scroll work originally derived from Roman Art, and Danish with interlacing knot work. The scrolls are of two kinds, those which contain leaves, twigs or fruit, and those in which the forms of animals and birds appear among the foliage. Excellent examples of leaf scrolls remain at Croft, Hackness, Easby and Northallerton; double scrolls are seen at Wensley, and tree scrolls at Northallerton and Croft, where figures of birds are carved in the boughs. Animals

INSCRIBED STONE WITH RUNES AND LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM HACKNESS.
Yorkshire Archæological Journal.

are found in scrolls at Croft and Easby, and a stag has been carved on an Anglian shaft at Masham. At Easby a Roman eagle, at Hovingham birds and beasts appear in the ornamentation. The figures of birds and beasts are generally natural and sometimes artistic.

The figure carving of this period is often of considerable merit. The carriage of the head is more graceful, and the shoulders better carved than in the later Danish work. One of the best examples is the figure of Christ Enthroned, which formed part of an Anglian cross shaft at Easby; at Hovingham an elaborate piece of early

carving is built into the Church tower. It contains eight figures, and probably represented the Annunciation. The round pillar at Masham contains representations of Christ and the Apostles and of stories of saints.

At Hackness there still remains an old cross with runes and Latin inscriptions in memory of Oethelburg, a former Abbess of Hackness and grand-niece of St. Hilda. Another cross, said to be the gravestone of King Ethelwald, has been inserted into the outer wall of Kirkdale Church, which is built largely of Anglian stones. The name of Donfrid occurs on one of the two Anglian crosses which are preserved in Wensley Church. A memorial slab at West Witton and another at Kirkdale, which is said to have contained the name of Bishop Cedd, appear to belong to the same period.

The Anglian school of sculpture came to an end with the Danish invasion in 867, although its influence may be traced in works of a later date.

CHAPTER IV

PRE-CONQUEST MONASTERIES

LASTINGHAM

ETHELWALD, King of Deira, the son of Oswald, wanted a place where he might worship in his life and be buried when he died. At his suggestion the first of the Anglian Monasteries of Deira was founded about 654 at Lastingham by Cedd, Bishop of the East Saxons, the brother of St. Chad. The site of the monastery was among "steep and solitary hills, where you would rather look for the hiding places of robbers or the lairs of wild animals than the abodes of men."[1] Cedd and his brother Cynybill purified the spot by fasting every day through Lent until evening, when they took a small piece of bread, an egg and a little milk and water. They were helped by Ouini, a wealthy but unlettered thegn, who laboured with axe and hatchet "as he had no knowledge." Cynybill consecrated the new monastery in accordance with the rites of the monks of Lindisfarne, and Lastingham became a centre of civilisation for the southern part of the wild moors and the fertile vale of Pickering. At Lastingham St. Cedd and thirty East Saxon monks, who had accompanied him to the Synod of Whitby, died in 664 of a pestilence which was ascribed by the men of the time to an eclipse of the sun on May 1st of that year, but which was partly due to the failure of the monks to remember that all men, even the holiest, must not neglect to wash. His brother Chad succeeded him as Abbot,[2] but soon left Lastingham to commence his work as the Apostle of Mercia. Lastingham will ever be famous as the home of two of the greatest missionary bishops of Northumbria.

ST. HILDA[3]

In fulfilment of the vow he made before the battle of Winwoodfield,[4] Oswy dedicated to the Church his little daughter Elfleda, who was only twelve months old, and endowed six monasteries in Bernicia and six in Deira. Of the latter the most famous

1 "Bede," Hist. Eccles., pp. 210-211. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 213. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 300 *et seq.*
4 Page 37.

was Streoneshalh, founded in 657 by St. Hilda, who became the first Abbess. This princess was the daughter of King Edwin's nephew Hereric. Before her birth her future greatness was revealed to her mother, who dreamed that she had found a precious jewel which filled the whole country with its brightness. Hilda "embraced the faith and mysteries of Christianity at the preaching of Paulinus of blessed memory." After the battle of Heathfield she fled to East Anglia, and at first resolved to join her sister, who was a nun in the monastery of Chelles in France.[1] "For she had a desire to leave her fatherland and all that she had, and to lead the life of a stranger for the Lord's sake in the monastery of Chelles." But she remained in England, and, after serving as Abbess of Hartlepool, came to Streoneshalh in 657 with ten nuns. Her saintly character and noble rank won for her the favour of King Oswy, who entrusted Elfleda to her care and gave her ten hides of land as an endowment for her new monastery. From that time until her death in 680 she ruled at Streoneshalh with gentle firmness that ensured discipline among the inmates, and with clearsighted wisdom that extended her influence in political and religious matters over the whole of Northumbria. "She excelled particularly in prudence, and had a great power of soothing quarrels and in maintaining peace, being herself endowed with the spirit of charity, meekness and peace." Her loving care for her people won for her the name of "Mother," and men called her "Holy Hilda" because of her saintly life. Partly owing to her friendship for St. Aidan she accepted the Irish form of Christianity, and both monks and nuns lived under her rule. She dedicated the monastery to St. Peter; she built her church of rough hewed tree trunks and thatched it with straw or rushes. This wooden church was replaced after St. Hilda's death by a rude stone building. The living rooms of the Abbey were near the church, and the discovery of the kitchen midden, where the rubbish was thrown, in Almary Field, a short distance from the present Abbey, has helped us to fix their site.

For seventeen years Hilda directed the affairs of the Abbey with vigour and success, but her strength was impaired in 674 by a fever, "she fell into a violent heat, and was afflicted with the same for six years continuously." In spite of her weakness she continued her labours, and "was ever admonishing the people to serve God in health and always to return thanks to Him in adversity or bodily infirmity." On November 17th, 680, "in the seventh year of her sickness, she drew near to her last hour, and about cock-crowing, having received the Holy Communion to speed her on her way, and called together the servants of Christ dwelling with her in the

[1] "Roger of Wendover," Vol. I., p. 171.

same monastery, she admonished them to live in peace amongst themselves and with all others, and while yet speaking she joyfully saw death approach, or if I may employ the words of our Lord, passed from death unto life."

The deep veneration with which she was regarded gave rise to the legends which are associated with her name. It was said that Begu, a nun of the monastery Hilda had founded at Hackness, awoke from sleep, as if at the sound of a bell, and saw in a gleam of light the soul of the great Abbess conducted to heaven by angels. In later days many believed that St. Hilda had cut off the heads of all the snakes in the neighbourhood and turned their bodies into stones, and if any ventured to doubt the story, the unbeliever was shown the ammonites which strewed the beach and proved the truth to those who would fain believe. Men told how :

> Of thousand snakes each one
> Was changed into a coil of stone,
> When Holy Hilda prayed ;
> They told how sea fowls' pennons fail
> As over Whitby towers they sail,
> And sinking down, with flutterings faint,
> They do their homage to the saint.[1]

The parish Churches of Middlesbrough, Danby-in-Cleveland, Bilsdale and Ampleforth were dedicated to her, and her name is preserved in Hinderwell and Hinderskelf near Castle Howard.

ELFLEDA

St. Hilda was succeeded by her pupil Elfleda, who, as the daughter of King Oswy and the sister of his successor Egfrith, exercised an influence little inferior to that of Holy Hilda. She was helped in her work by the advice of Trumwine, Bishop of Abercorn on the Forth, who had been driven from Scotland by the Picts and found a home at Streoneshalh. St. Cuthbert, the shepherd boy who became Bishop of Lindisfarne, was one of her greatest friends, and a linen girdle he sent her restored to her the use of her limbs when a dangerous illness had brought her nigh to death, so that "she could stand upright the very next day (after she put it on), and on the third day she was restored to perfect health."[2] Elfleda died in 713, and with her the greatness of Streoneshalh came to an end.

[1] "Marmion," II., p. 42.
[2] Young quoting Bede—"Life of St. Cuthbert."

THE SYNOD OF WHITBY[1]

It was at Streoneshalh that the great dispute between the Irish and Roman Christians was settled. Chad and Cedd traced their succession from Columba, the Romans from Augustine. The former held that Easter might fall a day later or a day earlier than the limit accepted by the latter. The Irish tonsure extended across the front of the head from ear to ear, while the Roman clergy wore round tonsures in commemoration of the crown of thorns which the Roman soldiers placed on the head of Our Lord. The fiercest dispute arose on these last two points, which to us appear trivial, and the difficulty as to the date of Easter appealed especially to King Oswy because, while he had adopted Irish Christianity, his wife, Eanfled of Kent, was a Roman Christian, and it sometimes happened that while the King was celebrating Easter Sunday with feasting and gladness, the Queen was sitting in the sadness of Lent. He therefore called a great meeting at Streoneshalh in 664, and to it there came Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, the champion of the Irish Cause, and Wilfrid, Abbot of Ripon, who supported the Roman Church. St. Hilda was on Colman's side, and Queen Eanfled on Wilfrid's. Cedd, Bishop of the East Saxons, acted as interpreter, and tried to reconcile the opposing parties.

Wilfrid pointed out that the Easter which the Church of Rome observed was also kept by "Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, nay, the whole Christian world save only these two obstinate nations, the Picts and the Britons." Colman told of the miracles Columba had wrought, and argued that so saintly a man could not have been at fault. Wilfrid appealed to the authority of St. Peter, the blessed prince of the Apostles, to whom the Lord said, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven." Colman was obliged to admit that the Lord had spoken these words to St. Peter and that no such power had been granted to Columba. The argument of the keys convinced Oswy and he gave his decision in favour of the Roman Church "lest haply, when I arrive at the doors of the Kingdom, there shall be none to open them unto me if I have lost favour of him who keeps the keys thereof."[2] Owing to Oswy's decision Northumbria accepted Roman Christianity, but Colman remained faithful to the Irish Church, left his See and returned to Iona with all the monks of Lindisfarne and thirty Anglian priests.

The example of Northumbria was followed by other kingdoms, and within a hundred years Roman Christianity was generally

[1] "Bede," Hist. Eccles., p. 221 *et seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

adopted even in Iona itself. The motives for Oswy's action were not of the highest, but its results were beneficial. England was brought into closer connection with the Continent and shared in the civilisation of Rome, which was far superior to that of Ireland. Learning benefited by the wider knowledge of classical writers, and by the adoption of Roman letters instead of the Anglo-Saxon runes. The craftsmen of the Continent greatly improved the buildings of England by the introduction of better methods of construction, and by their greater skill in the art of working in stone, metal and glass. But on the whole the Roman clergy were less devout and more fond of display than the humble missionaries of Iona and Lindisfarne, "who had no care for anything else but preaching, baptising, visiting the sick—in a word, for the salvation of souls," and the spiritual darkness of the eighth century was largely due to their neglect of their duties and their love of the things of this world.

WILFRID[1]

Wilfrid played a great part in the history of Christianity. Hilda resented the attitude he had adopted at the synod of Whitby, but he soon reaped a rich reward for his services to the Roman Church, and was appointed Bishop of York in 664, at the early age of thirty. At Compiègne, in France, he was enthroned in a golden chair and duly consecrated, but owing to his long stay abroad King Oswy appointed Chad in his place. On Wilfrid's return to England he founded many monasteries in Kent and Mercia, travelling from place to place with a band of singers, masons and teachers. He regained his bishopric of York, and his ability and great wealth made him one of the leading men in Northumbria. He quarrelled with King Egfrith, who had succeeded Oswy in 671, partly because the King was jealous of his great power; partly because Wilfrid supported Queen Etheldreda, who disliked the splendour of court life, and finally left her husband to become the Abbess of Ely.[2] Egfrith's second wife, Ermenburga, was Wilfrid's bitter enemy, but he prospered in spite of the enmity of the King and Queen, and built at Hexham and Ripon two noble Churches, of which the crypts still remain. But the diocese of York, which included the whole of Northumbria, was too large for one bishop to manage, and Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, who rearranged the bishoprics of England, divided it into five Sees. Egfrith strongly supported Theodore, but Wilfrid refused to submit and fled to Rome, where the Pope took up his cause. King Egfrith was slain at Nechtansmere in Fife, in 685, and soon afterwards Wilfrid, partly

[1] "Bede," Hist. Eccles., p. 381 *et seq.* [2] "Simeon of Durham," Vol. I., p. 31.

owing to Elfleda's help, partly owing to the belief of his friends that Egfrith's death was a judgment of heaven for his treatment of the bishop, was restored to his Abbeys of Hexham and Ripon. But trouble again arose, and he fled to Mercia, where he laboured for ten years. Egfrith's successor repented on his deathbed of his opposition to Wilfrid, and at a Synod presided over by the new King Osred, a boy only eight years old, the Abbess Elfleda, "the best consoler and comforter of the whole province," said that her brother Egfrith had bidden his heir do justice to Wilfrid; the old man was restored to his Abbeys, though not to his bishopric, and held them till his death in 709. The career of Wilfrid offers a striking contrast to the lives of the poor and humble Irish bishops. The opposition of the kings of Northumbria was due, not to errors in his doctrine or to grave faults in his character, but to their fear that the royal authority was weakened by his great wealth and influence.

CAEDMON[1]

The cause of learning was not neglected at Streoneshalh, and the Abbey became a great centre of education. The most famous of its inmates was Caedmon, the first English poet. He was an unlearned man, and had spent most of his life as a cowherd or perhaps a small farmer. To him, in his sleep, appeared a holy one, who bade him sing the beginning of created things, "and immediately he began to sing verses to the Glory of God." The Abbess Hilda, believing that "heavenly grace had been conferred on him by the Lord," bade him put into verse a passage from the Scriptures which she translated into Anglo-Saxon, as he could not read Latin. Caedmon, who had "learned the art of poetry not from man, but from God," brought her verses so good that she, "understanding the divine grace in the man, bade him quit the secular habit and take on him the monastic life." He gave up his care of flocks and herds, devoted himself to turning the Scriptures into Anglo-Saxon verse, and sang of the Creation, the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, their entry into the Holy Land, the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection and Ascent of Our Lord. His poetry helped to spread the truths of Christianity among the half civilised people of Northumbria.

Caedmon laboured for several years at Streoneshalh, and laid him down to die in peace with the sons of God. Shortly before he passed away he asked the time, and was told that it was near the time of morning song. "'Then' said he, 'it is well, let us await the hour;' and signing himself with the sign of the Cross, he laid his head on the pillow, and falling into a slumber, so ended his life in peace."

[1] "Bede," Hist. Eccles., p. 307 *et seq.*

Some monks went forth from Streoneshalh and gave good service to their day and generation. Hedda became Bishop of Winchester, Oftfor of Worcester. When Northumbria was divided into five bishoprics in 678, Bosa became Bishop of York.[1] John, another of Hilda's disciples, became Bishop of Hexham, and succeeded Bosa as Bishop of York. He ended his days in the monastery of Beverley, which he had founded, and so great was the fame of his piety and good works that St. John of Beverley became one of the most popular saints of Yorkshire, and for many years men told of the miracles he had wrought.[2]

SMALLER RELIGIOUS HOUSES

The greatness of Streoneshalh makes us often forget the smaller religious houses or cells that were founded in different parts of the North Riding.

Hilda founded a nunnery at Hackness near Scarborough, and we have read how Begu, one of its faithful nuns, was told in a dream of the death of the Saint. There was another cell at Hinderwell. Cuthbert is said [3] to have founded a cell at Middlesbrough in honour of St. Hilda, "owing to the great increase in the servants of God in that district." But there is no conclusive evidence of so early a foundation; the cell at Middlesbrough was founded by Benedictine Monks in Norman times.

In 685, King Egfrith [4] gave the little town of Crayke, with land for three miles around, to Cuthbert, that he might have a resting place on his journeys to York, and here the Saint founded a small monastery. St. Cuthbert was buried in Durham Cathedral, and Crayke remained a part of the Bishopric of Durham until 1844, and in old maps is marked as part of that county.

We have seen that the power of Northumbria declined after the battle of Nechtansmere, [5] and the Church fared no better than the kings. The monks had done much to improve the country; they had encouraged the people to till the soil, to drain the land, to cut down the forests, and to drive out the wolves and bears; they had tried to raise the character of the people by setting before them the example of Christ. But heathenism died hard, and even in the most flourishing days of Northumbria the standard of civilisation was low. Caedmon's poems are full of references to the old heathen legends; the influence of the old gods is seen in the Venerable Bede's belief in demons who rode in the tempest and directed the storm; the great mass of the people lived lives but little better

1 "Simeon of Durham," Vol. I., p. 30.
2 "Bede," Hist. Eccles., p. 334.
3 "Whitby," Young, Vol. I., p. 230.
4 "Simeon of Durham," Surtees Soc., pp. 141, 230.
5 Page 37.

than those of the cattle they tended. The character of the clergy themselves grew worse as the eighth century ran its course. "It is commonly reported of some bishops that they have no men of religion or sobriety among their companions, rather such as are given to laughter and mirth, to rioting and drunkenness and all the pleasures of a dissolute life." [1] The parish priests neglected their flocks, so that there were "many farms and villages on lonely mountains or in brambly wildernesses in which for many years the face of a priest has never been seen, and neither baptisms nor confirmations are ever performed." Many entered religious houses, because these alone afforded peace and safety in troublous times; the comfort of the monasteries led many to become monks and nuns who thought solely of this world and cared nothing for higher things, and their evil example was followed only too well by the laity. A kingdom torn by civil war, and a people who had forgotten God could hardly hope to offer strong resistance to powerful enemies, and Northumbria fell an easy prey to the Danes.

[1] Bede's letter to Egbert, Bishop of York.

CHAPTER V

THE NORTHMEN

THE Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us that in 787 "first came three ships of Northmen. These were the first ships of Danish men that sought the land of the English race." Like the Angles, the Northmen of Denmark, Norway and Sweden were rude barbarians, ignorant of the culture of Rome, and devoted to the gods of the North. From the viks or creeks of Scandinavia, from which they gained the name of Vikings, they sailed in their long boats to seek by plunder the wealth that an unfertile soil prevented them from winning at home. Their cruel ravages extended down the West Coast of Europe and even into the Mediterranean. So great was the fear of these heathen pirates that men added to the Litany a new prayer: "From the fury of the Northmen, Good Lord deliver us."

England, and Northumbria in particular, suffered greatly from the Danes, who, in 793, "wretchedly destroyed God's Church at Lindisfarne Isle with rapine and manslaughter." At first they came simply for plunder and returned home with their booty, but the increase of population, and the growing power of strong kings at home, led the more daring to seek new homes in other lands. They were not always successful. The old story that the Viking, Ragnar Lodbrog, or Rough Breeches, was seized by the men of Northumbria and thrown into a pit full of serpents points to the defeat of one band of the invaders. It is possible that in 865 five Danish kings and five earls were routed by the Angles at Northallerton, and although the Danes professed great contempt for "the nothingness of the natives," many perished before they won the North, while the bravery of King Alfred, "the darling of Wessex," saved the South from conquest.

IVAR

In 866 the son of Ragnar Lodbrog, Ivar the Boneless, "who had no bones in his body, but was very wise," overran East Anglia, where he "established his arms and made peace with all the inhabitants." Ivar was probably the greatest of the Vikings, and worthy of his proud claim to be the grandson of Sigurd who slew the dragon Fafner. He now left his ships, took horses, and moving very rapidly

with a force of mounted infantry, entered Deira, burnt Isurium, and captured York, on April 12th.[1] Some said he had come to avenge his father, others that he had been invited by a local nobleman whose wife King Osbert had ill-treated. King Osbert and his rival Ella united to face the common foe, and a great battle was fought at York, which the Danes had fortified in accordance with their usual custom. The Anglian Kings at first gained the advantage and took York by storm, but their followers pressed on too eagerly, and those who had entered the city were cut off from the rest by the walls. The Danes rallied, slew great numbers of their foes, "some without and some within," and gained so decisive a victory that the Anglian power was completely broken. Osbert fell in the battle, and Ella either met the same fate or was put to death with cruel tortures by the victors.[2] The Danes easily conquered Deira, partly because many of the inhabitants had laid aside their weapons through love of the easy life the monasteries afforded.

The Danes "rushed about like ravening wolves, plundering, devouring, slaying, not only sheep and oxen, but even priests." "Their cruelty spared neither sex, nor age, nor rank."[3] "The fury of the Northmen" fell most heavily on the religious houses, the wealth of which appealed to the greed of the conquerors, while the heathen worshippers of Woden and Thor took pleasure in destroying the houses of God. The Abbey at Streoneshalh was sacked in 866 or 867, perhaps by Ubba, another son of Ragnar Lodbrog, who is reputed to have landed at Dunsley or Ravenscar and planted his standard on Raven Hill.

"Thenceforward for 200 years and more holy service of the monks and pious nuns was in that place discontinued."[4] Only the ruins of some forty chapels with their dismantled altars remained to remind men of the stately buildings that had succeeded the original wooden church. The Abbot fled to distant Glastonbury, carrying with him, as some said, the bones of St. Hilda, the most precious of the Abbey's treasures. Cuthbert's monastery at Crayke, Hilda's at Hackness, Chad's at Lastingham shared the same fate, and the heathen Danes spared none of the Christian churches which had been recently erected. Christianity was almost destroyed, and although, when the country became settled, a few rude churches were built of wood and straw, no monasteries were rebuilt for two hundred years, and the "country people never heard of the name of a monk." From the time of Ivar until about the eleventh century Northumbria was almost without religion, and "men ran so greedily into wickedness that it was accounted a sin to be innocent."

1 "Whitby," Young, p. 49.
2 "Simeon of Durham," Vol. I., p. 55.
3 "Simeon of Durham," Vol. II., p. 55, and Vol. I., p. 230.
4 "Whitby Register."

But Ivar did not stay long in Deira. In 869 he led the Danish host, which the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle calls "the Army," into Mercia, leaving Deira in the charge of a Christian governor named Egfrith. After a successful campaign, he returned to York for the winter, and in 870 reconquered East Anglia. From this time Ivar, "the king of the Northmen of all Ireland and Britain," disappears from English history, but his brother Halfdene, in 871, made a strongly fortified camp at Reading from which he attacked Wessex. "The Army" fought so often against the West Saxons that 871 was called "the year of battles," but Wessex was saved by Alfred, and Halfdene withdrew to York. He defeated the Bernicians and completed the conquest of Northumbria in 876. Of the details of the conquest we know little, but tradition states that Catterick was sacked by the Danes.[1]

In the next year Halfdene dealt out the lands of Northumbria, and "they thenceforth continued ploughing and tilling them." It seems probable that while the Danes took most of the cultivable land for themselves, they allowed the Angles to keep much, for Domesday Book shews that although in the South there were many serfs, there were very few indeed in Yorkshire.

THE DANISH SETTLEMENT

The Danes settled in the country they had won, and local place names shew that the whole of the Riding came under Danish occupation, although the heads of the Western dales were very thinly populated. Wensley was the headquarters of the Danes in Wensleydale, and they established a colony at Wycliffe. Many settlements were made in the Vale of Pickering. In Cleveland, which contains few Anglian place names, the Danes were the pioneers of civilisation, and four-fifths of the local names on the moors are Danish. But only a comparatively small part of Cleveland was won from the forest and marsh, and the greater part remained a barren wilderness up to the Norman Conquest. The names of capes, openings and towns on the coast from Scarborough to Redcar are, with very few exceptions, Danish, and the names ending in "by" which occur in the immediate neighbourhood of Whitby and Scarborough shew that the Danes appreciated the value of these harbours. The new names shew how much the Danes did to colonise and settle parts of the country which had remained without population in preceding centuries. But the Danes did not substitute new names for Anglian, except in the case of Whitby, Kirkdale and Kirby Moorside, and the continuance of the Anglian

[1] Bogg, "Richmondshire," p. 76.

place names proves conclusively that the old inhabitants were not exterminated, and that many of their villages escaped destruction.

WESSEX AND NORTHUMBRIA

The struggle between the Danes and the West Saxons entered on a new phase after 886, when Alfred finally routed the Danish host under Guthrum, and made "Alfred and Guthrum's peace," which divided England into two parts. To Wessex was given all the land south and west of a line "on the Thames up to Bedford, and along the Watling Street to Chester." The rest of the country was called the Danelaw, and English history for a hundred years deals with the attempts of Alfred's successors to extend the authority of Wessex over the Midlands and the North of England.

Halfdene fell in battle in 877, and his successor Guthred, a Christian King, made peace with Alfred the Great, and may have helped him to resist the Viking Hastings, who invaded England in 893. But the old jealousy between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms still continued, and Ethelwald, a West Saxon who opposed Edward the Elder, was welcomed by the men of Northumbria and crowned king at York. On his death the Danes of the North acknowledged the supremacy of Edward the Elder, and in 919 York submitted to his valiant sister Ethelfleda, the Lady of the Mercians, who had conquered much of the Midlands.

The friendship between Wessex and Northumbria was strengthened in 925 by the baptism of the Danish King Sihtric and his marriage to the sister of Athelstan.[1] In 934 Athelstan made King Eric of Norway[2] his viceroy at York. Eric, the son of King Harold Fairhair, was nicknamed Bloodaxe, because he had murdered five of his brothers. His subjects rose against him because of his cruelty, and he was glad to take refuge in England. He served Athelstan faithfully, but while acting as viceroy "as he had little land, he went on a cruise every summer, and plundered in Shetland, the Hebrides, Ireland and Wales, by which he gathered wealth."[3] When Edmund succeeded Athelstan, Eric, knowing that the new king regarded him with disfavour, left York, and harried the coasts of Ireland and England.

The fidelity of Northumbria to the kings of Wessex is shewn clearly by the fact that the Northumbrians did not join in the confederacy of the Scottish King Constantine, who united with Anlaf, Sihtric's son, who had become King of Dublin, and Owain, King of Strathclyde, in an attempt to break the power of Athelstan. Olaf sailed from Ireland, and disembarked his army either in the

[1] "Whitby," Young, Vol. I., p. 54. [2] Baring Gould, *Y. A. J.*, Vol. XXII., p. 242.
[3] Heimskringla.

Humber or on the west coast and joined forces with Constantine and Owain. Athelstan was in the South of England, but his representatives set up a great number of empty tents at Brunanburgh, and thus made the invaders think that they were in command of a great army. By messages which they pretended came from Athelstan, they made Constantine think that the King of England was present with his army, and so succeeded in delaying the fighting until Athelstan arrived. A great battle followed, in which the Scots, Irish and Welsh were utterly routed. Five kings and seven earls were slain, but Constantine and Olaf escaped. The story of the victory is told in stirring verses in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which tells of:

> The struggle of standards, the rush of the javelins,
> The crash of the chargers, the wielding of weapons,
> The play that they played with the children of Edward.

The battle may have been fought near Aldborough, as the country described in the lay of Brunanburgh corresponds to that lying between Boroughbridge and Raskelf;[1] and Athelstan founded St. Leonard's Hospital at York in gratitude for his victory. But most authorities place the battle field in Dumfriesshire.

On the accession of Edmund in 940, the Northumbrians determined to assert their independence.[2] They found an able leader in Wulfstan, the Danish Archbishop of York, and offered the crown of Northumbria to Anlaf[3] of Dublin, who won the goodwill of Wulfstan by embracing Christianity. The rebels gained some successes. A fierce battle was fought at Leicester, without decisive result, and owing to the efforts of Wulfstan and the Archbishop of Canterbury, an arrangement was made by which Anlaf was left in possession of the whole of England north of the Watling Street. On the death of Anlaf, who "was cut off by the judgment of God" while burning a church in 941, Edmund established his authority over Northumbria.[4] Wulfstan submitted, and when Edmund was murdered by a robber in 946, assisted Edmund's brother, Edred, to secure the throne.

The restless Archbishop again stirred up rebellion, and set up Eric Bloodaxe, the former viceroy, as King of Northumbria.[5] But Wessex again triumphed, the Northumbrians swore allegiance to Edred at Topcliffe, and Wulfstan was deprived of his archbishopric and imprisoned at Jedburgh.[6] Edred in 954 gave Northumbria to Oswulf of Bamborough "as earl, but not as king," and so the Danish kingdom of Northumbria came to an end.

The old jealousy between North and South still continued,

1 Baring Gould, *Y. A. J.*, No. LXXV., p. 16.
2 "Simeon of Durham," Vol. II., p. 125.
3 "Whitby," Young, p. 59.
4 "Roger of Wendover," Vol. I., p. 396.
5 "Simeon of Durham," Vol. II., p. 126.
6 "Whitby," Young, Vol. I., p. 61.

the men of the North refused to acknowledge Edwy as their king, and accepted his brother Edgar in his place. On his brother's death Edgar the Peaceful, the first king of all England, was recognised by the whole country as King of the Northumbrians, Mercians and Saxons, and Northumbria remained at peace, governed by its own Danish Laws which Edgar's great Archbishop Dunstan allowed them to retain. But differences of blood and language still separated North and South, and other causes kept alive the enmity between Saxon and Dane, although men of both races met peacefully at the courts of Edred and Edgar. The Saxons hated the Danes as "outlandish men and harmful people." Men said that the bad example of the Danes taught the Saxons to drink to excess; others said that the hatred of the Saxons was due to the fact that the Danes "were wont to comb their hair every day, to bathe every Saturday, and to change their garments often," and by such unfair means to win the favour of Saxon ladies.

England had little peace in the reign of Ethelred the Unready,[1] for the Danes repeatedly attacked the country which Ethelred was incapable of defending. He tried to buy them off, and large quantities of the Anglo-Saxon coins he gave have been found in Scandinavia, and are still to be seen in Stockholm Museum. Ethelred's son, Edmund Ironside, offered a gallant resistance to the invaders, but on his death in 1016, Canute conquered the country and became the first Danish King of England. Northumbria, whose Danish inhabitants had much in common with the new conquerors, readily acknowledged Canute as its king.

THE DANISH EARLS

But Canute was busy with great schemes of foreign conquest, and for some fifty years Northumbria was more concerned with its earls than with its kings. In 1033 Deira was given to Earl Siward the Strong, "strenuus dux Northymbrorum,"[2] who claimed descent from a bear, and never failed to slay any opponent with whom he engaged in single combat. His faithful service gained for him the whole of Northumbria, and he used his great power to restore Malcolm to the throne of Duncan whom Macbeth had murdered. For over twenty years he governed Yorkshire, and in 1055, as he lay on his death-bed at York, the stout old warrior refused to "die like a cow" after he had so often escaped death in battle. "Put on me my coat of mail, gird on my sword, place my helmet on my head, give me my shield in my right hand and my battle-axe in my left, thus as a valiant soldier I have lived, even so will I die."

[1] The king who lacked rede or good advice. [2] "Simeon of Durham," Vol. II., p. 171.

On the death of Siward, his earldom was given by Edward the Confessor to Tostig, the son of Godwin. Tostig proved a greedy and cruel ruler. He murdered two of the leading men of Deira, Gamel the son of Orm, and Ulf, the son of Dolfin, in his house at York, and by his cruelty and the "intolerable impositions" he laid on the people roused them to revolt. In 1065 he was outlawed. The Yorkshiremen, led by Gamel, the younger son of the Gamel whom Tostig had murdered, attacked his house at York, slew his servants and seized his treasure. They forced the King to transfer the earldom to Morcar, whose brother Edwin was Earl of Mercia. The Earls of Mercia had held land in the North Riding from the beginning of the ninth century, when Richmond was granted to the first Earl by King Egbert. Gilling, a place of great importance in pre-conquest days, was their chief town, and here the site of Earl Edwin's hall may still be seen.[1] Tostig fled to his friend Harold Hardrada, King of Norway. The next year Hardrada came with a fleet of two hundred ships to restore Tostig. He landed in Cleveland, "where all men fled before him," harried Whitby and then sailed to Scarborough, where "he fought the burgess men. He ascended the hill which is there, and caused a great pyre to be made, and set it on fire; when the fire spread they took great forks and threw the brands into the town."[2] Scarborough was utterly destroyed, and became of so little importance that it was not mentioned in Domesday Book.

STAMFORD BRIDGE

At Fulford near York, the invaders routed the fyrd, or local militia, under Earls Edwin and Morcar, and so serious was the danger that King Harold, marching "day and night,"[3] advanced with all the forces of the Kingdom against the invaders, who fell back to Stamford Bridge.[4] Harold offered Tostig one-third of his Kingdom if he would make peace, but Tostig asked "If I accept these terms what shall Harold of Norway have for his labour?" Harold's answer is well known: "Seven feet of English earth for a grave, or as much more as he may need seeing that he is taller than other men." Many legends have grown up about the great battle, but authentic details are difficult to obtain. The invaders were encamped on both sides of the wooden bridge that spanned the Derwent, and Harold, whose army had been joined at York by the forces of the North Riding, marched so rapidly that he caught the Norsemen on the right bank quite unprepared and not fully armed. But their brave resistance hindered the English advance;

1 Bogg's "Richmondshire," p. 119.
2 Heimskringla, Phillips' translation.
3 "Abingdon Chronicle."
4 *Y. A. J.*, Vol. XI., p. 131.

one hero held the bridge single-handed against Harold's army and slew forty men with his terrible battle-axe. At last an English spearman got beneath the bridge in a boat or, as Drake says, in a swill tub, and dealt the Norseman a fatal blow under the coat of mail which had been proof against arrows and javelins. The English crossed the river, some by the bridge, some over the dead bodies that dammed the stream, "the living standing on the dead."

The main battle took place on the left bank, where the Norsemen, who had taken full advantage of the delay caused by the valour of their comrades, had drawn up their army in battle array behind a strong wall of shields. Harold's valiant huscarles won the day, although at no small cost. Tradition says that the King of England killed Hardrada in single combat, but he was more probably slain by an arrow that pierced his throat; the invaders were utterly routed, thousands were slain, many drowned. Some fled to their ships at Riccall, but the English pursued them and set the ships on fire, and some who had escaped from the battle perished in the flames. Two hundred ships had brought the Norwegians to England; twenty-four were sufficient to carry home the remains of the Army.

Tostig's body was recognised by a wart between his shoulders [1] and buried in York Minster. Hardrada's either received his seven feet of English ground, or was sent to Norway for burial; the bones of most of his followers lay for years on the site of the main battle, which is still known as Battle Flats. The Danish camp yielded a rich store of plunder, the gold alone was as much as twelve strong men could carry. And on the anniversary of the battle, the people of the village make pies in the shape of boats to commemorate the unknown warrior who slew the Northern Horatius. Three days after the great fight at Stamford Bridge, William, Duke of Normandy, landed at Pevensey, and with his victory at Hastings the Norman period of English history began.

THE REVIVAL OF CHRISTIANITY

Although the Danes were heathens when they invaded England, many of them accepted Christianity at an early date. We have seen how Ivar made Egfrith, a Christian, governor of Deira; how Guthred, a Christian king, ruled Deira in the time of Alfred the Great; how Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, played the part of King-maker in the tenth century.

The followers of Ivar and Ubba seem to have spared the churches at York and Ripon, but sacked most of the local monasteries and churches for the sake of their treasures. But the monks generally

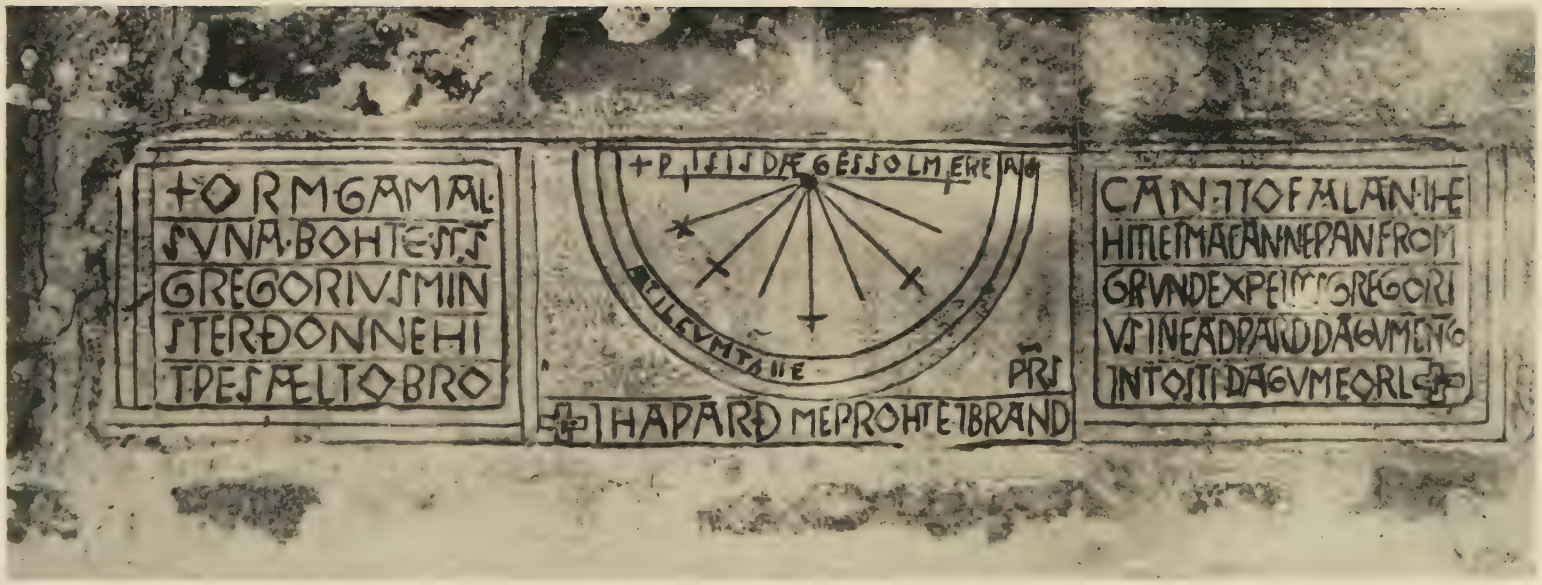
[1] "William of Malmesbury," Vol. III., p. 252.

escaped, and to their influence the revival of Christianity must be largely ascribed. Many churches were built, or rebuilt to replace those that had been destroyed, especially in the early part of the eleventh century, when the conversion of King Canute promoted the revival of Christianity. Domesday Book mentions fifty-four churches in the North Riding,[1] but this is smaller than the actual number, even if allowance is made for new churches built between A.D. 1070 and A.D. 1086. The return of churches for Domesday was optional, and no mention is made of the churches which certainly existed at Northallerton, Lastingham, Wensley, and other places.

Only in a very few instances can the approximate date of a church be fixed. If, as has been maintained, a church or chapel was built where St. Cuthbert's body rested, we may assume that a church was built at Crayke about 882. In that year the monks who had fled from Lindisfarne when the Danes attacked the monastery in 870 spent some months at Crayke.[2] They carried with them the coffin containing the body of St. Cuthbert, in whose arms they had placed the head of the saintly King Oswald. They reached the western coast, but a great storm prevented them from crossing to Ireland, and for twenty years the faithful little band wandered from place to place bearing their precious relics. In 990 the body of St. Cuthbert found its final resting place at Durham. The famous inscription at Kirkdale tells us that "Orm, the son of Gamel, bought St. Gregory's minster when it was utterly broken and fallen, and he had it made new from the ground for Christ and St. Gregory in the days of Edward the King and Tostig the Earl. And Hawarth wrought me and Brand the priest." The date of the foundation of Kirkdale Church must therefore have been between 1055 and 1065. Tostig appears in an unusual rôle as the donor of land to a Church at Marske-by-the-Sea, which was consecrated by the Bishop of Durham, 1042-1056. Near Whitby, which had become a place of considerable importance owing to its harbour, there were at least sixteen churches in the early part of the eleventh century.

[1] Barton-le-Street, Bulmer, Huntington, Ainderby Steeple, Kirkleatham, Hovingham, Brandsby, Buttercrambe, Otterington, Slingsby, Helmsley, Marton-on-the-Forest, Crambe, Gilling (Richmondshire), Manfield, Easingwold, Old Malton, Brafferton, Crayke, Easington, Acklam, Seaton (parish of Hinderwell), Great Ayton, Hutton Rudby, Guisborough, Startforth, Hundrelag (which may be Richmond), Morton-on-Swale, Ellerton, Melsonby, Ravensworth, Catterick, Fleetham, Thornton Steward, Masham, Well, Bedale, Spennithorne, Old Byland, Seamer, Hackness (three Churches), Topcliffe, Nunnington, Bagby, Kirby Moorside, Ormesby, Kildale, Stokesley, Patrick Brompton, Foston, Kirby Misperton, Brompton (Pickering Lythe).

[2] "Simeon of Durham," Vol. I., pp. 65, 68, 78-82.



G. E. Taylor

SUNDIAL, KIRKDALE.

+ ORM GAMALSUNA BOHTE S[AN]C[TU]S GREGORIUS MINSTER THONNE HIT WES AEL TOBROCAN AND TOFALAN AND HE HIT LET MACAN NEWAN FROM GRUNDE CHR[IST]E AND S[AN]C[TU]S GREGORIUS IN EADWARÐ DAGUM C[YNI]NG AND [I]N TOSTI DAGUM EORL.
+ AND HAWARTH ME WROHTE AND BRAND PR[IE]S[T].
+ THIS IS DAEGES SOLMERCA AET ILCUM TIDE.

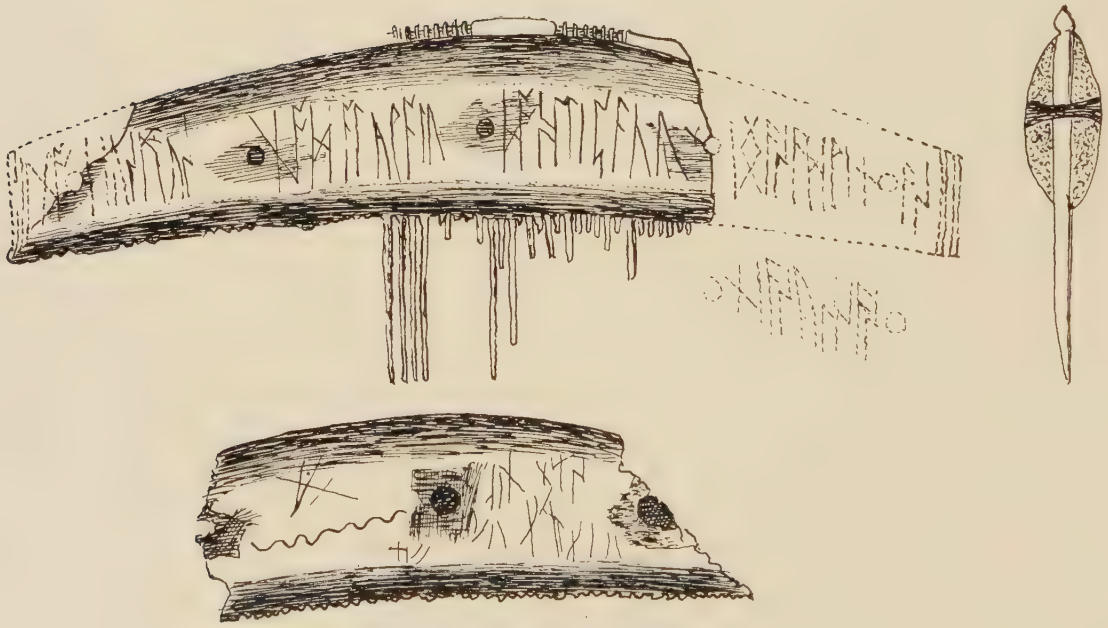
See page 58.

Peter Hood.

CLAY USED IN EARLY BUILDING CONSTRUCTION,
WHITBY ABBEY.

Note grooves where the rough interwoven branches of wood have been.
The material to the right is an ancient piece of iron.

By kind permission of Messrs. Hood & Co., Middlesbrough.



See page 39.

BONE AND IVORY COMB.

Found in the kitchen midden of Hilda's Monastery at Whitby.

Whitby Museum.

ARCHITECTURE

There was no " Danish " style of architecture, but the churches built by the Danes in the North Riding have certain common characteristics, and in some points resemble the Saxon churches in the Midlands and South of England, although the Danes did not take the Saxon style of architecture as their model. Belfry windows are a special feature ; they are narrow, either triangular or round in shape, often splayed—that is, wider on the inside than the outside—and divided by shafts set in the middle of the thickness of the wall. Good examples of such windows are to be found at Hovingham and Appleton-le-Street. Early masonry was very rough, but sometimes an attempt was made to vary the monotony of the rough walling by the introduction of herringbone work, such as may still be seen in the inner wall of the tower at Hovingham and in the nave at Bulmer. Owing to lack of skill and poor tools, the Danish builders found difficulty in dressing stone, and so they built their walls of rough material, reserving the dressed stones for the corners. The corners were sometimes built of alternate stones, one laid horizontally and the next vertically, but this arrangement is very different from the regular " long and short " work which is characteristic of Saxon architecture in the South of England. This irregular work is to be seen in the Danish towers of the churches at Hovingham, Stonegrave, Appleton-le-Street, Middleton and in the north door of Bulmer Church.

DANISH SCULPTURE

Danish sculpture is inferior to Anglian. The Danes had not the help of skilled workmen from the continent, but were influenced by the inferior Celtic style. The carving is rough, the tool used was probably a kind of pick and not, as in Anglian work, a chisel, and the stones were hacked or chipped rather than carved. But the work of the eleventh century was better than that of the tenth, owing to the closer connection between Northumbria and the South of England, and a marked improvement is seen in the sundials which are among our latest examples of Danish work. No runes are carved on Danish stones, and the most common pattern resembled interlacing ropework, such as may be found built into the walls of the churches at Kirkdale, Osmotherley, Crathorne, Wensley and Bedale. Danish crosses were often capped by wheelheads as at Stonegrave, Brompton, Gilling and Kirby Moorside. Hogbacks are among the most interesting relics of the period, and are probably grave stones of the leading men of the time. They are fairly common in Cornwall and the North Riding, but are rarely found in other

parts of the country. As the name implies, they are shaped like the back of a hog; at each end is a bear, less often a snake, holding in its mouth a twisted cable or plait, and the top is often carved in imitation of the tiles of a roof. Some authorities consider that hogbacks were intended as habitations for the spirits of the dead, and made like contemporary houses, which were built of wood or wattle and roofed with tiles. By far the best examples are to be seen at Brompton, near Northallerton, which was the centre of this work, and others may be found at Ormesby, Crathorne, Wycliffe, Lythe and Lastingham.

Danish figure carving, though rougher and less natural than Anglian, is of considerable interest. The dragon is the distinctive figure of the period, and is found at Levisham, Crathorne, Easington, Middleton and elsewhere; the hart and hound at Kirklevington and Stanwick, birds at Brompton, and snakes at Stanwick are other types of figure work. Many of the human figures have a religious reference, like the Virgin and Child at Oswaldkirk, the figures (possibly of St. John the Evangelist) at Brompton and Crathorne, the saint or bishop at Kirklevington. It is, of course, impossible to identify the figures with certainty, and it is not always easy to decide whether a particular carving is Danish or Anglian, but this old work is so interesting that it is worthy of record in spite of the occasional difficulty of referring it to its proper period.[1]

Of the Danish sundials the finest is that over the south door of Kirkdale Church, which is flanked by the inscription quoted above.[2] The stone is seven feet long and two feet broad, and the inscription is the longest extant of the period. The sundial over the south door at Edstone is inscribed "orologium viatorum," and the unfinished lettering gives Lothan as the name of the carver or, perhaps, the builder of the Church. The sundial at Old Byland is earlier than those at Kirkdale and Edstone. The inscription, now practically unreadable, was "Sumarledan Huscarl Me Fecit," which may mean "The housecarl of Sumarledi made me," or "Huscarl made me for Sumarledi."

POLITICAL DIVISIONS

The Danes introduced new divisions of the land. The tithings disappeared, the hundreds were retained, but became "long" hundreds of 120 carucates or ploughlands, and small hundreds of 100 carucates; local government was facilitated by the division of the County into the North, West and East Ridings, each being a "thirding" or third part of the Thing or shire court that met at York.[3]

[1] For details of Danish sculpture, see Mr. W. G. Collingwood's articles in *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*.

[2] Page 58.

[3] "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. II., p. 134.

The Ridings were sub-divided into Wapentakes, of which the North Riding had twelve, Hang West, Hang East, Gilling West, Gilling East, Hallikeld, Allertonshire, Langbaurgh, Birdforth, Bulmer, Ryedale, Whitby Strand and Pickering Lythe. The meeting place of the whole Riding was under a maple tree near Thirsk; the wapentake courts met at convenient centres at the towns of Northallerton and Gilling, on the long hill (Lang-baurgh) near Great Ayton, at the holy well of Hallikeld. The wapentakes were originally instituted for military purposes, and the inhabitants in their wapentake courts touched the weapons of the King's representative as a sign that they would serve the King faithfully in peace and war. This weapon touching, from which the wapentakes took their name, is said to be the origin of the children's game of tig. Local affairs were settled in smaller gatherings called Things or Tings, and such place names as Tindall Holme, near Scarborough, Thinghow (now Finney Hill), near East Harlsey, and Thingwall, the former name of a hamlet near Whitby, remind us of these old assemblies, and mark the places where they met.

DANISH BURIALS

Of the Danish Burials which have been found in the North Riding, the most important are those at Kildale, Bedale and Wensley. During the restoration of Kildale Church[1] in 1867 seven or eight interments were found beneath the floor of the chancel. With the bodies were discovered three swords, an iron axehead, three daggers (one with silver wire round the hilt) and a pair of bronze pliers. At Bedale,[2] about 1836, a Danish burial was found just below the surface of the Roman Road from York to Catterick. The remains of a spear head embedded in the breast show how the old warrior met his death, and two tortoiseshell brooches prove that the interment took place in the early part of the tenth century. Near the body of a warrior who was buried in Wensley churchyard lay a sword with iron blade and silver mounted shaft. The first and last are typical Viking burials, but as the bodies at Kildale and Wensley lay east and west, we may assume that the dead were Christians, and the weapons had been buried with them as a mark of distinction. The sword was always regarded with special honour, and it is possible that the sword dances, which continued until a late period in Wensleydale, were survivals of early Danish rites.[3]

[1] Atkinson's, "Cleveland," p. 81. [2] "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. II., p. 96.
[3] Barker's "Wensleydale," p. 260.

CHAPTER VI

THE NORMAN CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT

HIS great victory at Hastings made William of Normandy master of the south-east of England, and although the Witenagemot accepted as their King Edgar Atheling, grandson of Ethelred the Unready, the jealousy of Earls Edwin and Morcar ruined his chance of success. Men saw that there was little possibility of successful resistance to the Normans; Edwin, Morcar and Waltheof "bowed themselves for need" to the Conqueror, who was crowned King of England by Aldred, Archbishop of York, in Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day, 1066. William kept Edwin and Morcar at his court, made Morcar Earl of Deira, and Edwin, to whom he promised one of his daughters in marriage, Earl of Mercia.

THE FIRST RISING

But in spite of the submission of the Northern Earls, Northumbria was unwilling to acknowledge William's authority, and in 1068 a great rebellion took place. Edwin and Morcar broke their oath of submission, fled from the court,[1] and put themselves at the head of the movement. Gospatric, whom William had made Earl of Bernicia, Merleswegen, who had ruled the North as Harold's deputy after the Battle of Stamford Bridge, and Archill, "potentissimus Nordanhumbrorum," whose estates stretched from North Yorkshire to Warwickshire, readily took up arms. York became the centre of the rising, which, it was hoped, would spread over the whole of England. Help was sought from Malcolm Canmore (or Bighead) of Scotland, and Sweyn, King of Denmark; Edgar Atheling was proclaimed King. Towns, strong positions in woods and marshes, and the mouths of rivers were occupied and fortified by the rebels, who left their homes "and dwelled in tents and lurking places lest their strength should be weakened amid the comforts of their own houses."[2]

William marched against the rebels. On his approach Edwin

[1] "Simeon of Durham," Vol. II., p. 186. [2] "Ordericus Vitalis," p. 511B.

and Morcar yielded without striking a blow, and were again admitted to favour. Their followers dispersed, bitterly complaining that the "north was betrayed by the Mercian Earls," but the braver spirits held Durham in the hope of further resistance. Edgar Atheling, Merleswegen and Gospatric fled to Scotland and were kindly received by Malcolm, who married Edgar's sister Margaret. Before William reached York, an embassy met him, offering the keys of the city as a token of submission. He built a castle within the city,[1] and left a body of five hundred picked knights to act as garrison under the command of Robert FitzRichard, Gilbert de Ghent (a Flemish adventurer), and William Malet, who had carried Harold's body from the battlefield at Hastings and been appointed Sheriff of Yorkshire by the Conqueror. Archill submitted in person, and gave his son as a hostage, and ambassadors from Scotland swore obedience to William on behalf of King Malcolm. William returned to the South well pleased with the result of his expedition. But Northumbria was not yet conquered. York was the limit of William's authority; Durham and much of the North Riding refused to own his sway, and, in spite of his nominal submission, Malcolm Canmore was ever ready to support the cause of his brother-in-law, Edgar Atheling.

THE SECOND RISING

Within twelve months the North rose again. In January, 1069, the King gave Robert of Comines the Earldom of Northumberland, and sent him to occupy the land. At Durham the Earl and all his followers save one were massacred,[2] and the example of Durham was promptly followed by York. The citizens rose and slew Robert FitzRichard with many of the garrison. Edgar Atheling came from Scotland hoping to win a kingdom, and with him came Gospatric and Merleswegen. The men of Northumbria received Edgar with enthusiasm; "riding and marching gladly" they advanced on York, and attacked the new castle in which William Malet held out bravely against heavy odds. King William promptly responded to an urgent demand for help; he advanced north by forced marches, took the besiegers by surprise, utterly routed them and ravaged the town. He remained only eight days in York, and during this time built outside the city a second castle, which he placed in charge of William FitzOsbern, Earl of Hereford, one of his most trusted followers. From York the King sent a force to Durham to avenge the death of Earl Robert, but at Northallerton "so great a thickness of mists arose that men could hardly see those

[1] Mr. I'Anson is of opinion that the earthworks now known as the Baile Hill, and not the mound on which Clifford's Tower stands, represent the Conqueror's first castle.

[2] "Simeon of Durham," Vol. I., p. 98.

who stood by them, and they could by no means find the way."[1] The terror-stricken Normans retired to York; the men of Durham gave thanks to St. Cuthbert for his timely intervention.

THE THIRD RISING

The restless North again arose in rebellion in the autumn of the same year. In September a fleet of two hundred and forty Danish ships, commanded by the sons of King Sweyn, sailed up the Humber to help the English cause. Their appearance was the signal for the third and most famous of the northern risings against the Conqueror. Edgar Atheling sailed from Scotland and joined the Danes in the Humber,[2] Gospatric led the unconquered men of Durham to join the rebel forces, Merleswegen and Archill again took up arms. And now appeared a new figure in the person of Siward's son Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon, who "went out of" the court of William, where he had been living, and gave his powerful support to the rebellion.

The King sent orders to William Malet and Gilbert de Ghent to hold the castles at York, and they assured him that they could hold out for twelve months without further help. The good Archbishop Aldred could do nothing to avert the impending struggle and died of a broken heart, foreseeing the evil that was to come. The Danes sailed up the Ouse, and were gladly welcomed by the men of the county; a great host marched on York. The Normans set fire to the houses adjoining the castles, which would have covered the approach of the besiegers; the flames spread and destroyed a large part of the city, including the Minster and its famous library. While the fire was still raging the enemy approached. The garrison made a desperate sally, but Waltheof, "tall and strong, with huge chest and sinewy arms," took his stand by the gate, and with his mighty battleaxe cut off the heads of the Normans who tried to pass. The castles were quickly captured, and three thousand Normans were slain, of whom one hundred fell beneath Waltheof's axe. Only a few of the garrison, including Gilbert de Ghent, William Malet, his wife and two children, remained alive. Some escaped from the city and brought the bad news to William, who, in fierce wrath, cut off the right hands and noses of the fugitives and confiscated Malet's estates. The two castles, the outward sign of the hated Norman yoke, were destroyed, but no attempt was made to fortify the ruined city; the Danes and English withdrew with their booty, the former to their ships, the latter to their homes.

[1] "Simeon of Durham," Vol. I., p. 99. [2] "Simeon of Durham," Vol. II., p. 189.

When York fell, William was busy quelling a revolt in Devonshire, and the Welsh of the borders were besieging Shrewsbury. If all the rebels had united William's task would have been most difficult, but the lack of union, which had always weakened the English power, limited each rising to its own neighbourhood and made his conquest of England easier. The King hurried to York, and for the third time in three years entered the city without resistance. He gave orders to rebuild the castles, sent his half-brother, Robert de Mortain, to attack the Danes, and devoted himself to the punishment of the rebels.

THE HARRYING OF THE NORTH

The Harrying of the North, the great blot on William's character, was his own work, carried out by an army under his direct orders. He had sworn "by the splendour of God" that he "would not leave a soul of the insurgents alive," and he carried out his object with ruthless cruelty. "It was not mere plunder (but) simple unmitigated havoc."[1] Cattle were slain, houses and crops burned, fields ravaged. "Prompted by anger, he ordered houses to be filled with corn, cattle and all kinds of food, fire to be thrown on them, and all to be burnt up together, and thus all food to be utterly destroyed throughout the whole region beyond the Humber."[2]

"For nine years no attempt was made at tilling the land; between York and Durham every town was uninhabited and became the haunt of wild beasts and robbers, who caused great terror to travellers."[3]

The Conqueror left not a single inhabited village between York and Durham. A hundred thousand people perished either by the sword or the famine that followed the devastation of the land, and their bodies remained where they had died, for there was nobody to bury them. Putrefying bodies polluted the air, and pestilence carried off many whom the sword and famine had spared. Those who escaped death fled to the south of Scotland, which was "so stocked with English, both men and maidens, that they were to be found in all the farmhouses and even in the cottages." The Lowland Scots dialect is one of the results of their settlement in the country. The miserable remnant were compelled to eat horses, cats, dogs, and even human flesh.[4] William of Malmesbury, writing about 1135, said "the ground for sixty miles and more is wholly uncultivated. The soil lies bare even to the present time."

The dry details of Domesday Book[5] fully confirm the general

[1] Freeman. [2] "Ordericus Vitalis," Vol. II., p. 474.
[3] "Simeon of Durham," Vol. II., p. 188. [4] "Simeon of Durham," Vol. II., p. 188.
[5] The Domesday entries for the North Riding may be found in *Y.A.J.*; and, with valuable notes, "Vict. County Hist."

statement of the chroniclers. In 1086 the Conqueror made a survey of the country in order to calculate the amount due for Danegeld, a tax originally levied to buy off the Danes, but kept as a permanent source of revenue by William. Commissioners were sent into all parts to enquire as to the names of landholders, the number of under-tenants and labourers on each estate, the extent of woods and meadows, the value in the time of King Edward the Confessor and the present value, the number of ploughs in use on the demesne lands which the lord retained in his own hands, and in the berewicks and sokes which formed the outlying portions of his manor, the number and value of mills and fisheries. In some cases enquiry was made about churches, but this seems to have been optional. The information obtained was entered in the Domesday Book, which was so called either because its record was supposed to stand until the Day of Doom, or because the book, also known as the Book of Winton,[1] was kept in the chapel of Domus Dei at Winchester.

Seventeen years had elapsed since the Harrying of the North, but an appalling picture is given of the condition of the country, although many of the Norman landholders had done much to repair the ravages of the Conqueror. The entry "hoc est wasta" appears with painful frequency, and the rateable value of the North Riding had declined from £924 1s. 0d. in King Edward's time to £184 2s. 8d.

Out of the one hundred and ninety-three manors in the Honour of Richmond which William gave to Count Alan of Brittany, one hundred and eight were waste. There is no entry for any part of Wensleydale west of Aysgarth, for the country beyond was a howling wilderness, where wolves, red deer and wild boars lived unmolested by man; out of thirty manors in the middle of the dale all, including Wensley, Coverham, Middleham and Leyburn, were waste, except seven.[2] There was a slight increase in the value of Constable Burton and Newton-le-Willows. Bedale was worth 30/-, as compared with 20/-, although the land in the immediate neighbourhood was waste. Masham was worth 16/- as compared with £6, and its three berewicks were waste. Gillingshire had fallen from £205 to £44 10s. 0d., and Hallikeld Wapentake from £102 to 29/-.

In Swaledale, Reeth and Marrick were waste; at Gilling, where there was land for thirty-seven ploughs to till, only seven were at work, and the value was only £4 instead of £56. Upper Teesdale was devastated; there was work for seventy-one ploughs in Barningham and Wycliffe, but "now they are altogether waste," and Lartington, Rokeby and Cotherstone were utterly wasted.

[1] *i.e.*, Winchester.
[2] Thornton Steward, Danby, Aysgarth, Spennithorne, Hornby, Witton, Swinenthwaite.

The Vale of York suffered terribly. At Burneston, which needed a considerable number of men with thirty ploughs, "all is waste except that one man has one plough there"; in Pickhill and the neighbourhood, worth in King Edward's time £8, and affording employment for thirty ploughs, "all is waste except that in Pickhill there is one villein with one plough, and he renders 3/-"; Northallerton, which had been an important manor with eleven berewicks and soke in twenty-four places, and had formerly been assessed at £80, was waste; Easingwold had fallen in value from £32 to 20/,- and Thirsk from £4 to 10/-, but Aldborough had increased from £2 to £4, and Topcliffe from £4 to £5.

In Cleveland, a district of 120,000 acres, there were only eleven farmers (socmen) and two hundred and twenty-five villeins and labourers, working fifty-eight ploughs,[1] and the coast, the moors and the plain had all suffered severely. Scarborough is not mentioned in Domesday, but Falsgrave was worth only 30/-, as compared with £56. Whitby and Sneaton had fallen in value from £112 to £3, Loftus was "worth nothing," and of the twelve places in its soke "all are waste except Easington," and here only "one villein and one plough" were found in a district which had work for thirty-five ploughs. From Crunkley to Westerdale, an area seven miles long by three and a half broad, there was work for only eight ploughs. Mulgrave, Hinderwell, Kilton, Lackenby, Kirkleatham and Normanby were waste, but Marske had increased in value from 10/- to 20/-. On the moors Egton and Moorsholm were waste, and Danby, Lealholm and Westerdale were worth only 3/-, as compared with £3 in King Edward's time. On the plain Marton, Tollesby, Stainton, Thornaby, Great Broughton were waste; Acklam and Ingleby Barwick had fallen from £48 to 40/-, and Stokesley from £24 to £8. The Vale of Pickering was no exception; Pickering town was worth 20/4 instead of £88, Kirby Moorside £5 instead of £12, and Helmsley 10/- instead of 32/-; some six thousand acres in Ebberston, Snainton, Ellerburn and Thornton-le-Dale had only two ploughs instead of twenty-seven.

Everywhere William's hand fell heavily, but it fell heaviest on the lands of those who had led the rebels, on Northallerton and Gillingshire, which had belonged to Edwin, on Morcar's lands at Easingwold and Pickering, and on those parts of Cleveland which Gospatric and Archill had held.

The lands of the Church suffered in the general destruction. Only ten churches are mentioned in Cleveland, and twenty places where churches had stood were now returned as waste.[2] It is highly probable that some of the churches reported had been built after the Harrying of the North by the Normans. The property

[1] Atkinson's "Cleveland," p. 121. [2] Atkinson's "Cleveland," p. 123.

of the Archbishop of York was wasted at Alne—"St. Peter of York has it, and it is waste"; the Bishop of Durham's manor at Brompton, which in Edward's day had yielded a revenue of 40/- a year, was now worthless.

But in certain cases ecclesiastical lands had received more lenient treatment. The Conqueror spared all the property of St. John of Beverley, fearing lest the saint would exact stern punishment from those who did him wrong; land held by the Abbot of York at Kirby Moorside had increased in value from 3/- to 20/-; although at Whitby "nearly all is waste," an exception is made in the case of land which the Abbot of York held of William de Percy.[1] A church is nearly always found in places which were worth more in 1086 than in the previous reign, and it may be assumed that in these cases [2] the Church acted as a restraining influence on the hand of the destroyers, although in other places, such as Hackness, which had declined in value from £7 to 20/-, Helmsley and Great Ayton, the presence of a church did not save the land from devastation.

When the work of destruction had been completed, William returned to York. He sent to Winchester for his crown and sceptre, and held his Christmas feast within the blackened walls of the Minster that frowned upon the ruined city.

THE CAMP OF REFUGE

But the danger was not yet past for, although William bribed the Danish fleet to withdraw from the Humber, a daring band of English formed a Camp of Refuge in Coatham Marshes at the mouth of the Tees. The Camp, the fortifications of which are still visible, was protected by the sea and marshes, and could be approached only by a narrow causeway of dry land. Thither by secret ways came all who refused to submit to the Conqueror, bringing rich plunder and ample stores of food. Here they lived free from care, thinking no power could harm them.

The King set out from York in January 1070, and marched through the forest of Galtres with a strong force, which neither wild beasts nor robbers dared to attack. He went possibly from Helmsley [3] through Bilsdale along a road only twenty feet wide, which may have been an old Roman street. The rebels fled by night when they heard of the King's approach; he took the Camp without opposition and remained there for fifteen days. Waltheof, Gospatric, and Archill made their submissions. Waltheof and

[1] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 27.
[2] *e.g.* Topcliffe, Bedale, Crambe, Aldborough, Kirby Misperton, Brompton (Pickering Lythe), Topcliffe, Aldborough, Kildale, Marske-by-the-Sea, Hutton Rudby.
[3] Freeman's "Norman Conquest," Vol. IV., pp. 302-306 note.

Gospatric were restored to their positions, Archill was pardoned, but lost most of his estates.

William returned to Helmsley, but apparently a hard frost had set in, and he had the greatest difficulty in making his way. He went " by a road as yet untraversed by an army, where often the sharp ridges and the depths of the valleys are filled with snow when the neighbouring country rejoices in the fine spring weather." The King crossed in the fiercest cold of winter, and by his own keenness encouraged the hearts of his soldiers. The march was continued with great difficulty; an immense number of horses was lost; each man was anxious for his own safety and took no thought for his lord or his friend. In this difficulty the King wandered from the road with six horsemen, and for one whole night remained ignorant of the position of his army. But at last he got safely to York, and there completed the castles and settled the affairs of the city and shire.[1]

In 1071 Edwin and Morcar again rose in rebellion, but the rising was easily quelled. Edwin was slain by his own men while trying to cross the Tees in his flight to Scotland; Morcar was captured and imprisoned for life. Four years later Waltheof was beheaded at Winchester[2] on a charge of complicity in the rebellion of the Norman Earls of East Anglia and Hereford. He seems to have been unjustly accused, and his execution was a judicial murder, for which the blame must rest with the King. The English leaders were now dead or powerless; the North remained faithful to William, but most of the country was desolate. The King had made a wilderness and called it peace.

[1] " Ordericus Vitalis," p. 515c. [2] " Math. Paris," p. 8.

CHAPTER VII

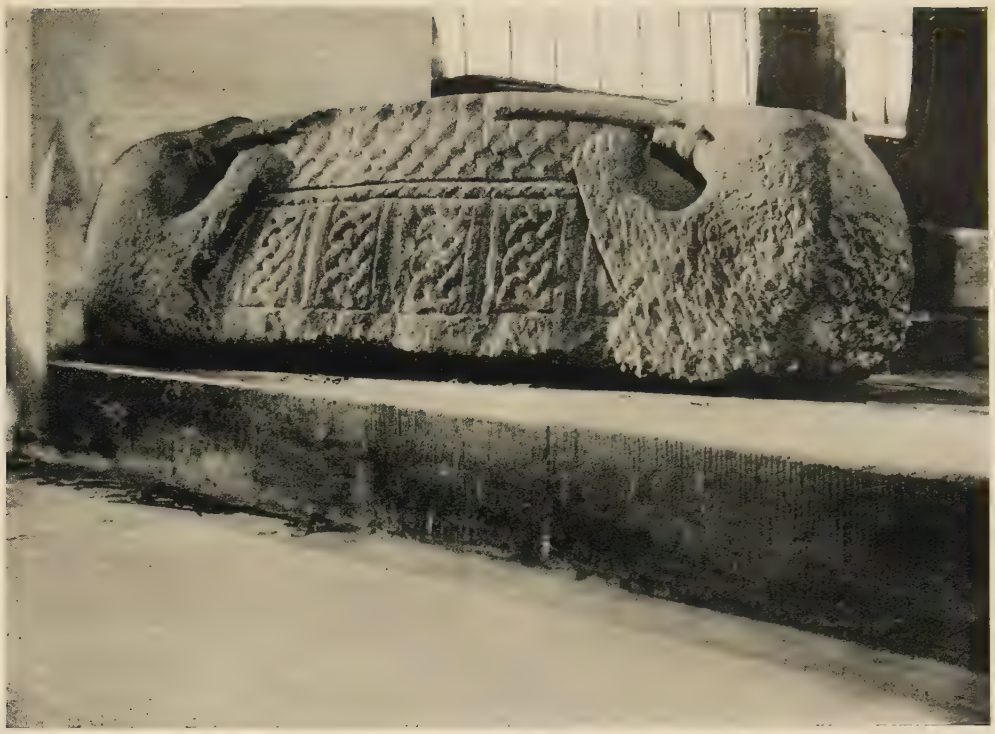
POLITICAL HISTORY UNDER THE NORMANS AND EARLY PLANTAGENETS

THE ruthless Harrying of the North in 1069 had given the Saxons a terrible lesson, and we hear of no more risings in the Riding against the Conqueror. Rebellion would have had no chance of success, for the nobles, to whom William had made vast grants, remained faithful to him, and consolidated their position by building castles which served to overawe the native population. It is probable that King William built a castle on Castle Hills at Northallerton in 1068,[1] and Alan the Red certainly finished his stone castle at Richmond a few years later. William de Percy constructed Topcliffe castle before the Domesday Survey; Nigel Fossard's castle at Foss, near Whitby, and Richard de Surdeval's at Skelton were probably completed before the end of William's reign.[2]

WILLIAM RUFUS, 1087-1100

On the death of the Conqueror in 1087, his second son, William Rufus, at once seized the throne. Some of the nobles thought that his elder brother Robert Curthose had a better claim, and would prove an easier master. They therefore took up arms on Robert's behalf, and Robert de Mortain and Robert de Mowbray supported the rising. Rufus easily maintained his position, the Count of Mortain was banished, and most of his lands in the North Riding were given to Nigel Fossard and Richard de Surdeval, who had previously held them as sub-tenants. Mowbray was pardoned and showed his loyalty in 1092 by slaying Malcolm, King of Scotland, who had invaded Northumberland.[3] In return for his services he was made Earl of Northumberland, and received large grants of land at Byland, Slingsby, Gilling and Thirsk, where he built a strong castle to command the district, which took from him the name of the Vale of Mowbray. But two years later he joined a conspiracy to put Stephen of Aumale on the throne. His great stronghold at Bamborough was besieged by the Royal forces. He endeavoured to

[1] I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII., p. 366. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 320. [3] "Florence of Worcester."



G. E. Taylor.

See page 59.

DANISH HOG BACK, BROMPTON.

G. E. Taylor.

DANISH CROSSHEADS.

(One showing knot or ropework) built into the outer wall of Sinnington Church.

[To face page 59

G. E. Taylor.

See page 59.

TOWER OF HOVINGHAM CHURCH.

Showing pre-conquest window and Anglian carving.

To face page 71.]

escape, but was captured by the King's cavalry at the Minster of St. Oswin,[1] Tynemouth, and his wife, who was directing the defence of the castle, was compelled to surrender by the threat that unless she submitted immediately her husband's eyes would be torn out. Mowbray was imprisoned in Windsor Castle, where he remained for thirty years, and his wife received from the Pope a special dispensation to marry again during his lifetime. It is doubtful whether he died in prison, or was released by Henry I., and died a monk at St. Alban's Abbey.

HENRY I., 1100-1135

On the death of Rufus, who was shot in the New Forest in 1100, his younger brother Henry secured the crown, and Robert Curthose again failed to enforce his claims. Much sympathy was felt for him. William, the son of Robert de Mortain, Robert Malet, son of William Malet, the Conqueror's faithful servant[2] and Robert de Stuteville, or Front-de-Boeuf, who by this time had probably built his castles at Cropton and Buttercrambe, supported his cause. Henry I. therefore deprived Robert Malet of his estates, and expelled him from England in 1102, and two years later the King seized all the possessions of William de Mortain in England, razed his castles to the ground and banished him from the realm. The exiled barons and Stuteville were warmly welcomed by Curthose and took an active part in his plans to enforce his claim to the English crown. In 1106 the opposing forces of Henry and Robert met at Tinchebrai. William de Mortain led the first division of Robert's army,[3] which was utterly defeated. Robert Malet was killed, Stuteville and Mortain were captured, and the latter was deprived of his earldom, blinded and imprisoned. Curthose, whose horse was killed under him, was compelled to surrender to Nigel de Albini, a relative of the Mowbrays, who had served Rufus as armour-bearer; he was blinded and imprisoned in Cardiff castle until his death. Henry generously rewarded his faithful servants. Robert Malet's land in Skelton, Guisborough and Normanby was given to Robert de Brus,[4] and Bulmer to Anketil de Bulmer. Nigel de Albini received the lands formerly held by Robert de Mowbray, and also those of Stuteville, and his son Roger, who took the name of Mowbray, was destined to play an important part in the history of the Riding.

[1] Not at Gilling, near Richmond, as has been sometimes stated.
[2] Page 63.
[3] Ord. Vit. Bohn's Library, Vol. III., p. 376.
[4] Page 244.

STEPHEN, 1135-1154

The early Norman kings had kept the barons in check; the reign of Stephen showed how the country suffered when the King was weak. The Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I., claimed the throne as her father's heiress, and Stephen tried to gain the support of the barons by removing the restrictions imposed upon them by wiser, or stronger kings. The barons used their power to oppress the people.

The North Riding suffered less than the South of England, but local barons took advantage of their opportunities to build castles, for which a royal licence was no longer necessary, and which in a time of anarchy became of great value, both for offence and defence. William le Gros, Earl of Aumale, founded Scarborough Castle in Stephen's reign. Bertram de Bulmer built Sheriff-Hutton in 1140, Pagan FitzWalter built Kilton between 1135 and 1140,[1] and it is very probable that the castles at Easby,[2] Castle Levington, Kildale, Carlton in Coverdale, Hutton Conyers and Yafforth must be ascribed to the same period.[3]

Most of the local barons supported Stephen, under whom their power was so greatly increased, and Eustace FitzJohn and Bertram de Bulmer found to their cost that opposition to the king had little chance of success in the North Riding. The former was an adherent of Matilda, and Stephen therefore deprived him of his castle at Bamborough. FitzJohn thereupon openly joined Matilda's uncle, David of Scotland; he admitted Scottish garrisons into his castles at Malton[4] and Alnwick, and fought on the Scottish side in the Battle of the Standard, 1138.[5] His castle at Malton was captured by royal forces, who burnt the town. Bertram de Bulmer also supported Matilda, but Count Alan of Richmond took up arms for Stephen, and besieged and captured Bulmer's castle at Sheriff-Hutton. The loyalty of the barons was shewn clearly at the Battle of the Standard, in which a representative of nearly every baronial family fought on the English side.

Some of the local barons helped Stephen in the South of England, especially at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141. William, Earl of Aumale, led the second line of Stephen's army, and completely defeated the Welsh forces that attempted to outflank him.[6] But his triumph was short-lived, and he was "routed in a minute" by the Earl of Chester,[7] and although Stephen fought bravely, he was overpowered and made prisoner. William Fossard and Roger Mowbray shared

1 I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII., p. 378.
2 In Cleveland.
3 I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII.
4 "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. I., p. 120.
5 Page 123.
6 "Roger of Wendover," Vol. I., p. 229.
7 "Roger of Howden," Vol. II., p. 203.

the King's fate. Count Alan of Richmond was a strong supporter of Stephen, and tried to avenge the King's capture at Lincoln by laying an ambush for the Earl of Chester. His attempt failed; he was made prisoner, tortured, and compelled to give up the county of Cornwall which Stephen had given him.

In spite of his defeat at Lincoln, Stephen retained the loyalty of the North Riding, and secured the support of those who had previously opposed him. He was reconciled to Eustace FitzJohn, who founded the priory of Watton [1] as a penance for his treachery in 1138, and built New Malton near the site of the old town. In 1141 Bishop Gregory of Durham died, and William Cumin, the Chancellor of David of Scotland, seized Northallerton Castle; Bertram de Bulmer compelled him to give it up in spite of the fact that Count Alan of Richmond, Bulmer's former opponent, supported him.[2]

HENRY II. 1154-1189

Henry II., the son of the Empress Matilda, determined to make the Royal authority supreme. He realised that the power of the barons was a serious menace to King and people, and determined to destroy the "adulterine" castles which they had erected without royal licence. Early in 1155, he set out for the north, and compelled the Earl of Aumale [3] to surrender the "most famous and noble" [4] Castle of Scarborough. Contrary to his usual practice he did not destroy it, but realising the military value of its site strengthened the castle by erecting the keep at a cost of £593 15s. 8d. Henry also took the royal castle of Pickering, which the Earl had seized, and converted it into a stone castle by erecting a wall round the outer bailey; [5] the castles of Pickering and Scarborough became bulwarks of the King's authority in the North Riding. Yafforth Castle, a robber fortress belonging to Alan of Richmond, and probably Crayke, were destroyed. Henry also took Castleton Castle from Adam de Brus; he may have dismantled Castle Levington.[6]

Some of the barons strongly resented the growth of the King's power, and the ambition of Henry's eldest son, Henry, gave them an opportunity of rising against the King. The younger Henry had been crowned during his father's lifetime in order to secure his succession to the throne, but the act proved an unfortunate mistake. Thomas Becket, the famous Archbishop of Canterbury, was greatly offended because the ceremony had been performed by Roger, Archbishop of York. Henry succeeded in appeasing Becket's anger,

1 East Riding.
2 "Simeon of Durham," Vol. I., p. 168.
3 "Chron. Step.," Vol. I., p. 104.
4 "Walter of Hemingburgh," Vol. I., p. 82.
5 I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII., p. 372.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 336.

but when the Archbishop excommunicated some loyal bishops the King, in a fit of temper, asked, " Are there none of the knaves eating my bread who will rid me of this turbulent priest ? " Sir Hugh de Morville,[1] with three others, fell upon Becket in Canterbury Cathedral, and Morville, " with the point of his sword drew out his brains and scattered them on the floor."

The murder of Becket gravely injured the cause of the King, whose difficulties were increased by the demand made by the young King for an independent territory where he and his wife would be King and Queen in fact as well as in name. The demand was refused, and some of the northern barons joined in a rising to enforce the younger Henry's claims. Roger de Mowbray fortified his castle at Axholm in Lincolnshire, and prepared to defend his castles at Kirby Malzeard[2] and Thirsk against the King. William the Lion, King of Scots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of weakening the power of his dangerous neighbour, promised help. Hugh de Puiset, Bishop of Durham, the only bishop in England who helped the rebels, undertook to garrison his castle at Northallerton with a force of forty knights and five hundred Flemings, under his nephew, the Count de Bar. The rising gained some measure of popular support ; Bedale, Pickering and Scawby sent contingents to the rebel army.

But the prompt efforts of Henry's faithful adherents met with speedy success. Ranulf de Glanvil, lord of Coverdale and Sheriff of Lancashire, and Robert de Stuteville, the Sheriff of Yorkshire, took the lead in raising the northern levies ; Bernard de Baliol of Barnard Castle, and William de Vesci of Malton, lent them strong support,[3] and these four loyal barons marched north to oppose William the Lion, who had invaded Northumberland. They knew William was near Alnwick, but a thick mist[4] hampered their movements, and some advised a retreat. Bernard de Baliol refused. " Let anyone who wishes return, I will go forward even if no one follows." The mist lifted, they saw the Castle of Alnwick before them and fell suddenly upon the Scottish king, who had failed to observe their approach. " Now," said William, " we shall see who is a soldier," and gallantly charged his foes, but he was quickly unhorsed and captured, July 13th, 1174. Henry had just completed his severe penance for the murder of Becket, and accepted the victory of his troops as a sign that he was forgiven.

On the same day Hugh de Bar's force landed at Hartlepool, but Bishop de Puiset, on hearing that William the Lion had been captured, sent the Flemings home, and only his nephew and forty knights went to Northallerton.

[1] The statement that he was born in Wensleydale is incorrect. He was probably of French descent.

[2] West Riding. [3] " Walter of Hemingburgh," Vol. I., p. 107.

[4] " William of Newburgh," Cap. 33.

The suppression of the rising in Yorkshire was largely due to the vigorous action of Henry's illegitimate son, Geoffrey, bishop-elect of Lincoln, who was ably assisted by the Archbishop of York. He captured Kirby Malzeard Castle, strengthened Topcliffe[1] and gave it to William de Stuteville to hold for the King. Thirsk resisted, but Mowbray, fearing that he could not hold out, sent to beg for help from William the Lion. When the Scottish King was made a prisoner, Mowbray voluntarily surrendered Thirsk, and with its surrender the rebellion came to an end. Mowbray and Bishop de Puiset submitted to Henry at Northampton. The King was with great difficulty persuaded to spare the lives of Hugh de Bar and his followers, but they were allowed to return to France. The castles of Kirby Malzeard, Thirsk and Northallerton were destroyed, and Mowbray's valuable manor of Kirby Moorside was given as a reward for faithful service to Robert de Stuteville, whose grandfather had lost it in 1106. William[2] the Lion was confined for a year in a narrow prison without fireplace or garderobe, above the chapel of St. Nicholas in Richmond Castle. On August 10th, 1175, he paid homage to Henry II. at York, and placed his helmet, spear and saddle upon the High Altar of the Minster as a token of submission. Brian of Bedale obtained pardon for those of his tenants who had adhered to the King's enemies on payment of fifteen marks; the men of Pickering and Scawby escaped with fines of £8 13s. 4d. and £16 8s. 2d.

RICHARD I., 1189-1199

Richard I. was an utter failure as King of England. He could not speak English, had no sympathy with his subjects, and spent only a small portion of the ten years of his reign in this country. In the beginning of his reign his efforts were directed to making preparation for the Third Crusade. In 1187 Saladin, the great leader of the Turks, had utterly routed the Christians at the Battle of Hattin. As a result of the battle, in which Roger de Mowbray was taken prisoner, the True Cross, the most precious Christian relic, was captured by the Turks, and the city of Jerusalem was compelled to surrender. On his accession Richard I. began to raise money for the Third Crusade, which aimed at the recovery of Jerusalem. "The King exposed for sale everything that he had," [3] and "whoever wished, bought of the King his own and others' rights." [4] Ranulf de Glanvil paid £15,000 for freedom from imprisonment. The

[1] "Benedict of Peterborough," Rolls Series, Vol. I., p. 68.
[2] "Math. Paris," Vol. II., p. 293.
[3] "Benedict of Peterborough," Vol. II., p. 90.
[4] "Roger of Howden," Vol. III., p. 18.

Bishop of Durham, Hugh de Puiset, bought the Earldom of Northumberland and the Justiciarship which Glanvil had been forced to resign. William the Lion was released from the homage he had paid to Henry II. in York Minster on payment of 10,000 marks.

But the most striking event of his reign, as far as Yorkshire was concerned, was the massacre of the Jews at York. The Jews lived in a Jewry, where they maintained a college and library. They gained great wealth by lending money at usury, which Christians were forbidden to do. They were the King's property, and he used them like sponges, allowing them to grow rich by usury and then squeezing them dry. The harsh terms the Jews imposed caused general indignation, but the authority of the King protected them.

In March, 1190, a rumour spread that Richard I. had given his subjects permission to attack the Jews. More than 400 Jews of York,[1] led by Joses, took refuge in the castle with their families and treasure. They shut the gates and unwisely refused to re-admit the Governor, who had gone out on business, because they thought he had been bribed by their enemies.[2] The Governor appealed to the Sheriff for help, and attacked the castle with the ready assistance of the city mob and some of the gentry. Among the latter were Robert de Turnham, whose father-in-law, William Fossard of Mulgrave, had borrowed 1,800 marks of silver from Joses and his friends,[3] William de Percy and Richard de Malbisse, who held land at Ayton, and was "rightly called Evil Beast."[4] The siege lasted several days. The Jews offered large sums of money in return for their lives, but all in vain. They had few weapons, but defended themselves by hurling down projecting stones of the upper wall upon the heads of their enemies. The mob was led by a Premonstratensian Canon, clad in a white vestment; he was struck on the head by a heavy stone and killed on the spot. The Jews held out bravely, but when further resistance seemed impossible, one of the elders said: "Ye men of Israel, listen to my advice. It is better for us to die for our law than to fall into the hands of our enemies."[5] The Rabbi cut the throats of his beloved wife Anna and his children, and slew himself. Most of the heads of families followed his example. Before the slaughter was completed the Norman castle was set on fire, and the dead and their treasures were consumed in the flames. A few Jews who had refused to commit suicide were slain by the townspeople, who set fire to the Jewry, and burned in the Minster the accounts of money owing to the Jews. Estimates

[1] "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. I., p. 251.
[2] "William of Newburgh," Vol. II., p. 24.
[3] "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. I., p. 172.
[4] "Walter of Hemingburgh," Vol. I., p. 145.
[5] "Math. Paris," Vol. II., p. 339.

vary as to the number of Jews who perished in the massacre; Roger of Hoveden gives five hundred as the total; Benedict Abbas of Peterborough says "five hundred men and women besides children." The number was not less than five hundred, but the extreme estimate of two thousand was excessive. The Premonstratensian Canon was the only Englishman who was slain by the Jews. The lands and property of the ringleaders were confiscated; Malbisse fled to Scotland, but Turnham soon regained the King's favour, and went straight from the massacre to fight for the Cross in Palestine.[1]

JOHN, 1199-1216

John seems to have secured without difficulty the adherence of the local barons and to have tried to redress some of their grievances. William de Mowbray swore allegiance to him at Northampton in 1199.[2] The long-standing quarrel between the Mowbrays and the Stutevilles as to the ownership of Kirby Moorside was finally settled in the King's Court in February, 1200, when William de Mowbray allowed Robert de Stuteville to retain the manor on payment of an annual acknowledgment. In the same year John restored to Peter de Brus I. Danby (including Castleton Castle), which Henry II. had taken.[3]

But John was not apparently a popular visitor in the county; in 1200 the citizens of York were fined £100 for not giving him a hearty welcome and failing to provide lodgings for his archers. In 1201 he wished to stay at Easingwold, but was bribed by a present of two palfreys to go elsewhere.[4] As time went on his extortion and profligacy turned the whole country against him, and the barons of the North Riding took a most important part in the national rising, which compelled the King to agree to Magna Carta in 1215.

The quarrel between the King and the northern barons broke out in 1213 when Eustace de Vesci of Malton, whom John had outlawed and deprived of his property,[5] Robert de Ros II. of Helmsley, William de Mowbray of Thirsk, Peter de Brus I. of Skelton, Nicholas de Stuteville of Kirby Moorside and Richard de Percy refused to serve with the King in an expedition to Poitou. John's expedition was a failure. In great wrath he collected a large army and marched against the northern nobles, but his plan of vengeance was ruined by Archbishop Stephen Langton, who had taken up their cause and vowed he would excommunicate anyone, except the King, who attacked them.

1 *Y.A.J.*, Vol. III., p. 147.
2 "Roger of Howden," Vol. IV., p. 88.
3 Page 73.
4 "Pictorial Yorkshire," Vol. I., p. 223.
5 "Walter of Hemingburgh," Vol. II., p. 247.

Langton's intervention led John to turn again to France. Here brilliant diplomacy seemed likely to win him success, but the crushing defeat of his allies at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214 foiled his hopes of conquering France, and he was compelled to return to face his discontented nobles in England. The six local barons who had opposed John in 1213 appear in the list of those who met at Stamford at Easter 1215,[1] and entered London on May 24th. They threatened that they would treat all who supported the King "as public enemies, and would burn their homes and devastate their parks and orchards."[2] John was compelled to surrender and accepted the Great Charter of Liberties on June 15th at Runnymede, near Windsor. Magna Carta introduced no new element into the Constitution, but it definitely asserted that every man must be judged by his equals, and that justice must not be sold, delayed or denied. The clear statement of these all-important principles prepared the way for further extensions of the freedom of the subject.

The barons, who utterly distrusted John, appointed twenty-five of their number to see that Magna Carta was duly executed. Among these were four of the original opponents of John: Eustace de Vesci, William de Mowbray, Robert de Ros, Richard de Percy and also William of Aumale, who had at first supported the King. Scarborough Castle, which John had entrusted to Geoffrey de Neville, was put into the hands of the barons to ensure the command of the county.[3]

John's anger at his defeat knew no bounds. He rolled on the floor, biting pieces of stick in his mad frenzy. His few remaining supporters jeered at him. "Lo, now you are no king, not even a kinglet, but a disgrace of kings."[4] John needed little to spur him to revenge. "Unmindful of the profound oath he had so lately taken, he began to levy forces, while the barons made preparations for a splendid tournament as if the whole matter was settled." Pope Innocent III. upbraided the barons for "persecuting the King," and excommunicated his original opponents, and also William de Ros, son of Robert de Ros, and Ranulf FitzRobert.[5] The barons then offered the crown to Louis, the eldest son of the King of France, in the hope that John's French mercenaries would not fight against their own prince, but John showed great military skill in a new campaign against his rebellious subjects. He captured Rochester Castle at the end of 1215, and, "changing from human nature into bestial rage,"[6] marched north to wreak his vengeance on the northern barons, who had added to their offences by wasting the lands of the King's friends. John's mercenary army, justly described by Matthew Paris as "satellites of Satan and servants

1 "Math. Paris," Vol. II., p. 585.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 587.
3 "Roger of Wendover," Vol. III., p. 317.
4 "Math. Paris," Vol. II., p. 611.
5 Of Middleham. "Math. Paris," Vol. II., p. 643.
6 *Ibid.* p. 639.

of the devil," [1] committed such atrocities that the garrisons of the barons' castles fled in terror, and the castles fell undefended into the King's hands. John marched from York to Thirsk, which was saved from being burnt by a payment of eighty marks, and then through Northallerton to Durham and Northumberland. He got as far as Berwick, and the North Riding, the home of his chief opponents, suffered severely. The King received valuable help from the Earl of Chester, who held Richmond Castle for him, Hugh and Bernard de Baliol, and Peter de Mauley I. of Mulgrave, "one of the most vicious of the counsellors of John," [2] but Hugh de Neville did homage to Louis and surrendered Marlborough Castle to him.[3]

Early in January the barons of the western dales made their submission. Nicholas de Stapleton, FitzHenry of Ravensworth, and Roger de Aske of Aske submitted on January 8th, 1216, and seem to have been favourably received, as John made Stapleton governor of Middleham. Nicholas de Stuteville was made a prisoner by the King's forces at Lincoln and compelled to pay a ransom of a thousand marks, which he raised from his manors of Kirby Moorside and Liddell.[4] Sir Roger de Leyburn, another opponent, was captured and imprisoned in Rochester Castle. On January 31st, 1216, John reached Guisborough Priory, where he stayed a week. He was at Skelton on February 8th, 9th and 10th, and at Skelton he received the submission of Peter de Brus I. and his vassals. Brus and other leading men were for a time committed to the custody of Peter de Mauley I. at Mulgrave. On February 12th, John journeyed to Scarborough after a most successful campaign. Helmsley was the only castle in the Riding which had not submitted, and here Robert de Ros (Fursan) held out successfully against the King's forces. John left all the castles between Tyne and Tees in the charge of Hugh de Baliol, who "rendered him great service in arms."[5]

In July, 1216, Alexander II. of Scotland took up arms on behalf of Louis of France and overran Northumberland. But Hugh and Bernard de Baliol held Barnard Castle against the invader, and Eustace de Vesci of Malton, the brother-in-law of Alexander, approaching too near the castle, was killed by a bolt from a cross bow, which pierced his forehead,[6] and Alexander soon withdrew to Scotland after doing homage to Louis. Meanwhile Robert de Ros, Peter de Brus and Richard de Percy brought the county of York under the power of Louis, and [7] the death of John on October 19th ensured the permanence of Magna Carta for which the local barons had striven so valiantly.

1 "Math. Paris," Vol. II., p. 532.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 626.
3 "Roger of Wendover," Vol. III., p. 371.
4 "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. I., p. 512.
5 "Math. Paris," Vol. V., p. 507.
6 "Math. Paris," Vol. II., p. 666.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 663.

HENRY III. 1216-1272

The accession of Henry III. greatly weakened the position of Louis, who had been invited to England in order to overthrow the tyranny of John. Many who had opposed John gladly supported the young King, although William de Mowbray and William de Ros remained faithful to Louis. But the crushing defeat of the French on May 19th, 1216, at the "Fair of Lincoln," where Mowbray and Ros were taken prisoners,[1] firmly established Henry's authority. Hugh de Baliol and William of Aumale took advantage of the turbulence of the times to "seize the castles of some bishops and magnates," [2] and to hold them in defiance of the King, and the former seems to have maintained a disloyal attitude until his death. About seven years later Peter de Mauley II. took up arms against the King, but he was compelled to surrender in 1224,[3] and the nobles of the Riding proved generally faithful to Henry III. In 1255 John de Baliol made full submission, and thus the long resistance of one of the leading families came to an end.

The North Riding did not suffer from the ravages of war during the Barons' War between Simon de Montfort and Henry III., and military operations were confined to the midland and southern counties. Royalist influence was strong, and the King's supporters held the chief castles. Henry III. made Peter of Savoy, the Queen's uncle, Earl of Richmond.[4] Robert de Neville garrisoned York for the King; the royalist governor of Scarborough refused to surrender it to the barons. We have few records of the share the local barons took in the actual fighting. Henry de Percy at first supported the barons, but went over to the King, and was made a prisoner by the baronial forces at the Battle of Lewes, 1264. John de Baliol I. suffered the same fate. John de Vesci of Malton fought on the baronial side and was wounded and taken prisoner at the Battle of Evesham, 1265, where de Montfort was routed and slain.

But if the Riding escaped the evil of civil war it suffered severely from the evils that always arise under a weak king. The barons seized the opportunity to oppress the people and oppose the royal authority. The steward of the Earl of Warenne was guilty of "devilish and innumerable acts of oppression," and the same statement might be made of others. Sir Robert de Thweng of Kilton took a conspicuous part in the disorders of the time, although it must be admitted that he had serious cause of complaint, and proved himself a champion of national interests. Pope Gregory IX. had taken advantage of the King's weakness to strengthen his power in England, and made such heavy demands for money from

1 "Math. Paris," Vol. III., p. 22.
2 "Math. Paris," Vol. III., p. 33.
3 "Math. Paris," Vol. III., p. 83.
4 "Math. Paris," Vol. IV., p. 85.

the clergy that the King's brother, Richard of Cornwall, declared that "England is like a vineyard with a broken hedge. All steal the grapes." The Pope also demanded that Italian clergymen should be presented to English livings. In 1229 one Cozoni, the Pope's secretary, received the living of Lastingham, and about the same time another papal nominee was appointed to Kirkleatham Church, of which Sir Robert rightly claimed the advowson.[1] He appealed to the Archbishop of York; the Archbishop referred him to the Papal Legate, who referred him back to the Archbishop. An appeal to the Prior of Guisborough proved equally fruitless, and so Sir Robert, whom Matthew Paris called "juvenis elegans et miles strenuus," took the matter into his own hands. Under the assumed name of Will Wither he collected a band of retainers and friends and pillaged the property of the Italian clergy who held English livings between Tweed and Trent. His strong castle at Kilton afforded a safe base of operations, and he filled it with rich spoils.[2] When the Papal Legate excommunicated him, he appealed to the northern nobles, who readily embraced his cause. They met [3] at Kilton and authorised Sir Robert to go to Rome, and protest to the Pope in person against the infringement of the rights of lay patrons. His mission proved successful. Gregory IX. recognised the justice of his plea and ordered the Legate and the Archbishop of York to respect the rights of the laity. The advowson of Kirkleatham was restored to Sir Robert and Matilda, his wife, in 1229.[4]

EDWARD I., 1272-1307

Alexander III. of Scotland had married Edward I.'s sister Margaret, in York Minster, and in 1278 did homage to his brother-in-law. He died in 1286, and his grand-daughter, Margaret, "The Maid of Norway," was proclaimed Queen of Scotland. But the Maid died in 1290 on her voyage from Norway to Scotland, and thirteen competitors claimed the crown. There was no one in Scotland who was strong enough to decide between them, so the Scots referred the matter to Edward. He marched north with a large army, compelled the Scots to recognise him as overlord of Scotland, and at Norham Castle received the homage of the rivals to the throne. Some of the Lowland castles were surrendered to him, and he made Brian FitzAlan, of Bedale, Warden of those of Forfar, Dundee, Roxburgh and Jedburgh. Four of the competitors came from, or had connection with, the North Riding. Robert de Brus VI. of Annandale was the head of the younger branch of the most famous family in Cleveland; John de Baliol held land at

[1] "Math. Paris," Vol. III., p. 217.
[2] I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII., p. 77.
[3] Page 95.
[4] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. III., p. 25.

Stokesley; William de Ros II. of Helmsley claimed the crown because his great-grandfather, Robert II. (Fursan), had married an illegitimate daughter of William the Lion; William de Vesci of Malton, whose grandfather Eustace had married another, based his claim on similar grounds. All these acknowledged Edward's claim to the overlordship of Scotland.[1]

The final contest lay between Baliol, the grandson of William the Lion's eldest legitimate daughter, and Brus, the son of the second. Edward decided in favour of Baliol, who swore fealty to him the next day at Newcastle, and repeated his oath of allegiance after his coronation at Scone. But Baliol soon found his position intolerable. His subjects repeatedly exercised their right of appealing from him to his overlord, and he was summoned to appear before Edward four times in the first year of his reign. A summons to come to England to answer an appeal about a cask of wine so angered him that he refused to answer the summons and renounced his allegiance. "Has the fool done such folly?" exclaimed Edward. "If he will not come to us, we will go to him." In 1296 Edward routed Baliol at Dunbar, and received the submission of the Scots. He appointed William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, Regent, William de Ormesby[2] Justiciar of Scotland and Henry de Percy of Topcliffe Governor of Galloway.

In the next year the Scots rose in rebellion under Sir William Wallace. Ormesby was defeated at Scone, and Wallace marched against Warenne, who was at Stirling in command of a force which Henry de Percy and William le Latimer I. of Danby had helped him to collect.[3] The opposing armies were divided by the River Forth, which was spanned at this point by a long, narrow, wooden bridge, which prevented an army from crossing rapidly. Hugh Cressingham, the Treasurer, urged that the English should cross the bridge and attack William, but Marmaduke de Thweng II. of Kilton, "strenuissimus ille miles,"[4] strongly condemned the plan which gave Wallace the chance of attacking part of the English force before the main body had crossed. Warenne foolishly took Cressingham's advice; the half of the English army that crossed was cut to pieces; Cressingham was slain and his body flayed by the Scots.[5] The other half fled in terror, and was saved from destruction only by the bravery and great strength of Thweng. He cut his way through the Scots who had crossed the bridge, saved the life of his nephew, who had been unhorsed and wounded, and succeeded in reaching the bridge, which he held until the English

1 "Walter of Hemingburgh," Vol. II., p. 34.
2 In Cleveland.
3 "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. II., p. 268.
4 "Walter of Hemingburgh," Vol. II., p. 138.
5 "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. II., p. 269.

set it on fire and so prevented Wallace from crossing. He then with his little force attacked the Scots who had crossed and, although outnumbered, killed them all. In the battle his son Marmaduke and a second nephew were killed.[1] The Earl of Warenne then made Thweng governor of Stirling Castle, and promised that if he could hold for ten weeks the castle, which was provisioned for only six, he would return with an army large enough to defeat Wallace. Warenne failed to keep his promise. The Scots ravaged the North of England, and Wallace besieged Stirling. Thweng, helped by his son William, held out gallantly for thirteen weeks, and then, when all food was eaten, came out of the Castle to meet the Scots, who had vowed " on the oath of their baptism " that the English garrison should be allowed to go free. Wallace broke his word and imprisoned Thweng in Dumbarton Castle.[2]

Wallace was routed at Falkirk 1298, and Scotland again came into the power of Edward I. who, during the next nine years, made good use of his faithful Yorkshire nobles. Brian FitzAlan had, with great reluctance, succeeded Warenne as Regent of Scotland in 1297. He sent a letter to " the noble and wise king, my lord, Sire Edward," pleading " insufficient skill and ability to venture on such a high matter ; unless I had wherewith to support it to your honour I dare not do so. For the means I have would be too small, as far as I can stretch them, well to keep that land to your honour and to maintain fifty armed horses (for they do not extend beyond £1,000). And from this amount I am unable in my poverty to keep the land in peace to your profit and honour, when such a nobleman as the Earl (of Surrey) cannot well keep it in peace for what he receives from you." [3]

The Scots now endeavoured to secure the assistance of the Pope, and on June 27th, 1299, Boniface VIII. issued a letter claiming that Scotland was a fief of the Apostolic See because it had been converted to Christianity through the relics of St. Andrew. The Papal claim aroused strong resentment in England. At a Great Council held at Lincoln early in 1301 the barons issued a letter asserting the suzerainty of the King of England over Scotland, and denying that the King of England was bound to answer for any of his rights in the Papal Court. Among the seals attached to this important letter were those of Henry de Percy of Topcliffe, Peter de Mauley of Mulgrave, Ralph de Neville of Raby, Brian FitzAlan of Bedale, Walter Lord Fauconberg of Skelton,[4] William of Leyburn, William de Ros II. of Helmsley, Nicholas de Meynell of Whorlton.[5]

1 " Chron. de Melsa," Vol. II., p. 269. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 291.
3 " Royal Letters," Stevenson, Vol. II., p. 222.
4 To which he had succeeded as husband of one of the co-heiresses of Peter de Brus IV. who died 1272, p. 247.
5 " Walter of Hemingburgh," Vol. II., p. 210.

Robert de Ros of Wark, "won over by the love of a woman of the Scottish race whom he desired to marry," [1] determined to support the Scottish cause, and tried to persuade his cousin William de Ros II. of Helmsley to join him. The latter revealed the plot to Edward, and Robert, thinking that prompt action might ensure success, cut off a small body of English troops under the leadership of a "man of Cleveland." But Edward easily suppressed the attempt, captured Wark, and with unusual clemency spared the lives of the prisoners whom he stripped of their clothing and sent away "as naked as they were born." Robert escaped and died in poverty soon afterwards; his castle of Wark was given to his cousin William, in 1301.

Robert Bruce, the grandson of the "Competitor," had paid homage to Edward I. as overlord of Scotland in 1296, but rebelled, and was crowned King of Scotland at Scone on March 27th, 1306. Edward marched against him accompanied by several of the nobles of the North Riding. Marmaduke de Thweng fought in the battle of Methven, June 19th, in which Bruce was routed, and put down with stern cruelty the bands of Scots who roamed about the Lowlands. Edward executed a number of Scottish nobles who had fought against him and granted their estates to his faithful followers. Edmund de Mauley received the manor of Seaton in Whitby Strand, which had formerly belonged to Christopher de Seaton, and Bruce's Earldom of Carrick was bestowed on Henry de Percy of Topcliffe, who was appointed Regent of Scotland, together with the Earls of Pembroke and Gloucester.[2]

After his defeat at Methven, Robert Bruce fled to Ireland. He returned the next year. Edward, "the Hammer of the Scots," marched north against him, but died at Burgh-on-Sands, July 7th, 1307. During the reign of the feeble Edward II. the Scots took full vengeance upon the North of England for all they had suffered from his father.

[1] "Walter of Hemingburgh," Vol. II., p. 93.
[2] "Walter of Hemingburgh," Vol. II., p. 247.

G. E. Taylor.

See page 59.

LOWER PORTION OF TOWER OF MIDDLETON CHURCH.

Showing pre-conquest doorway, Anglian crosshead, arrangement of corner stones.

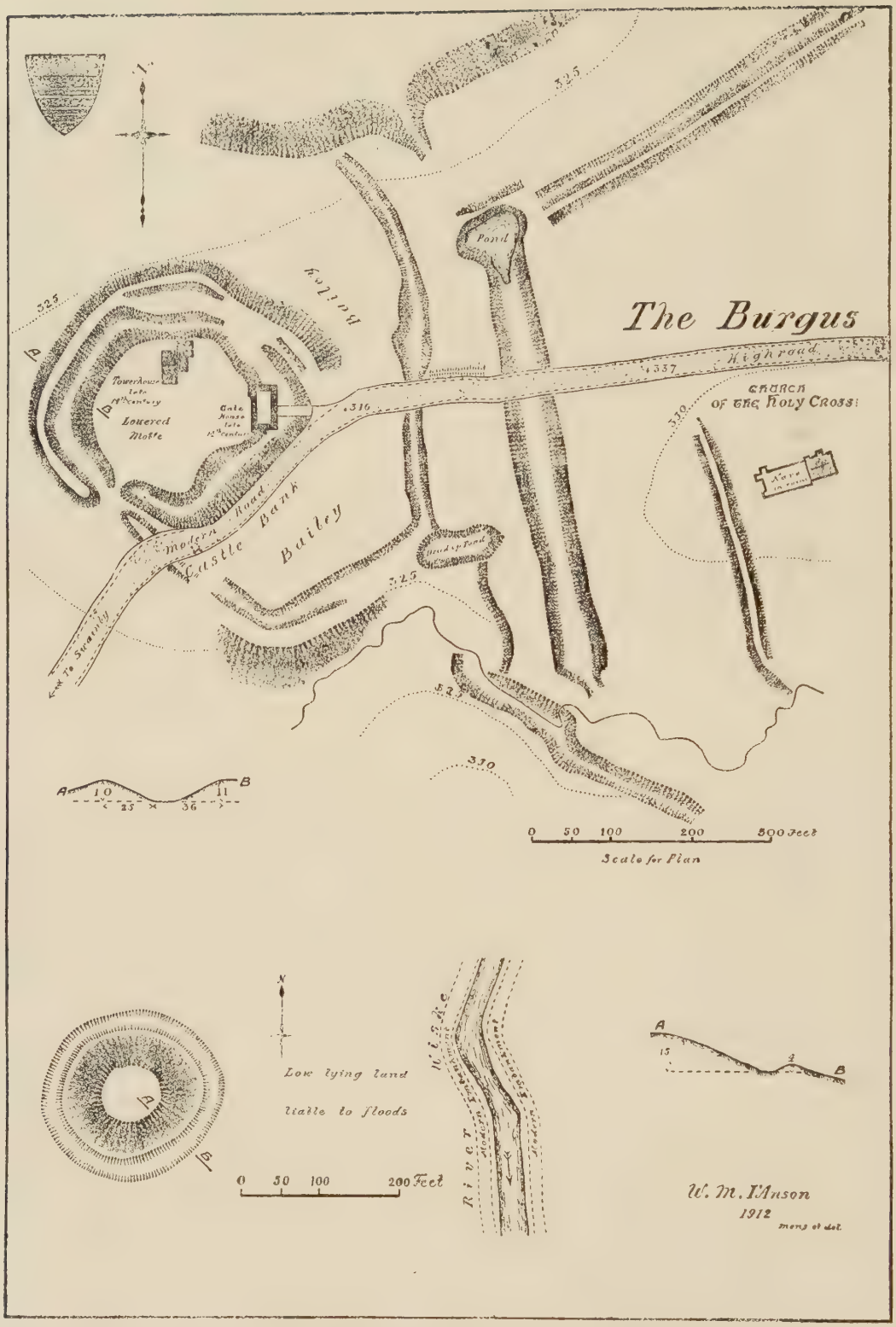
G. E. Taylor.

See page 40.

ANGLIAN FIGURE CARVING.

From Hovingham Tower, possibly representing the Annunciation.

[To face page 84.



See page 105. PLANS OF WHORLTON CASTLE AND BURGUS, AND OF YAFFORTH MOTTE.

Yorkshire Archæological Journal.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

THE problem of land tenure was both political and economic. It was political because the conditions on which the land was held determined the relation between the King and his immediate tenants-in-chief, and between the latter and those to whom they sublet some of the land they had received from the king. The duties a landholder owed to his overlord, whether that overlord was the King or a great baron, were generally twofold; it was his duty to give military service and to pay money on certain recognised occasions. The royal army and the royal revenue were thus, to some extent, dependent on the conditions of land tenure. But the land had to be cultivated as well as defended, and the question of the conditions of cultivation was economic and not political. Strictly speaking, the term Feudal System included both aspects of land tenure, but the term is often restricted to the political and military aspect, while the Manorial System, which will be considered in a later chapter, was the organisation of the land on its economic side.

The Feudal System was firmly established in Normandy, and William the Conqueror used it as a means of settling the tenure of land in England. Some elements of feudalism had existed in England in Anglo-Saxon times, and under William I. and his successors the system was greatly extended. But the complicated arrangements which were described by the lawyers of the thirteenth century, and particularly by Bracton,[1] were of gradual growth. The Conqueror's relations to many of his chief followers were personal, his agreements with them were verbal; in his reign the Feudal System was far less rigid than it became under his successors.

Under the Feudal System the king owned all the land; "all the lands and tenements in England are holden mediately or immediately of the king,"[2] He retained in his own hands the Terra Regis or King's Land, but, as the reward of faithful service, gave the greater part of the country to tenants of the crown who held immediately of him. Grants were often estimated in knight's fees, which may be regarded as the political unit of the Feudal System,

[1] Died 1268. [2] Coke upon Lyttleton.

but a knight's fee was never a definite area. The "knight's fee . . . consisted normally of an estate worth £20 a year,"[1] and the extent of the fee varied according to the value of the land. At Helmsley twenty-four carucates, roughly 2400 acres, constituted a knight's fee; at other places in Ryedale the numbers were ten, twelve and fourteen carucates,[2] at Askrigg fourteen, at Spennithorne six. Malton was worth a full knight's fee, Hovingham and Barton-le-Street half a knight's fee.

THE LANDS OF THE TENANTS-IN-CHIEF OF THE CROWN

Most of the original grants in the North Riding were made at a Great Council which William held in York at Christmas, 1069. The vast estates formerly held by Earl Edwin of Mercia in Wensleydale, Swaledale, Teesdale and the Vale of York were given to William's second cousin, Alan the Red, the son of Odo, Count of Penthièvre, in Brittany.[3] Alan had fought valiantly in command of the rearguard at Hastings, and his service now won for him a worthy reward. He received 440 manors, of which 232 were in the North Riding, and 140 knight's fees. His total holding was probably not less than 100,000 acres in extent. With Alan came a large number of Breton followers, and a doggerel verse tells how

William de Conigsby
Came out of Brittany,
With his wife Tiffany
And his maid Manfras
And his dog Hardigrasse.

Alan made Richmond the centre of his barony instead of Gilling, which had long been the most important place in Richmondshire, and built on the great rock that towers above the Swale a castle which his successors made one of the strongest fortresses in the North of England.

Much of the east coast from Loftus to Whitby was granted to William's nephew Hugh, Earl of Chester. Hugh stayed but a short time in Yorkshire, and soon left Cleveland for his earldom, where he fought gallantly against the Welsh of North Wales. He had sublet Whitby to William de Percy, who received from the King over a hundred manors in Yorkshire, including Topcliffe, which long remained one of the chief seats of the family.

Robert, Count of Mortain, the half-brother of the King, had fought by William's side at Hastings. William gave him 180 manors in Yorkshire including Helmsley, Old Malton, Egton,

[1] Round "Feudal England," p. 295. [2] Kirkby's Inquest, Surtees Society, p. 113.
[3] In a spurious deed of gift which purported to have been issued "at the siege of York," 1069, Alan is wrongly called William's nephew.

Moorsholm, Kilton, Kirkleatham, Lackenby, Normanby and a part of Guisborough. He spent very little time in Yorkshire, and sublet most of his land in the county to Nigel Fossard and Richard de Surdeval.

Robert Malet's land in Cleveland included parts of Little Ayton, Guisborough, Acklam, Thornaby and Marton; he held Hawnby in Allerton Wapentake, and Scawton in Ryedale. Berengar de Todeni's land was situated mostly in the Vale of Pickering, and included part of Thornton-le-dale, Sinnington, Lastingham and Edston, while his neighbour Ralph Pagenel received land in Nunnington and Stonegrave. Much of upper Eskdale—Crunkley, Danby, Lealholm and Westerdale, which is called "Camisedale" in Domesday—was held by Hugh FitzBaldric, who was also Lord of Coxwold, and of part of Kirby Moorside and Thirsk.

A considerable portion of the Vale of York and Cleveland was returned in Domesday as Terra Regis. Most of the land which the King retained in his own hands had suffered severely in the Harrying of the North, and Easingwold, Northallerton, Pickering, Falsgrave,[1] and the wapentake of Langbaurgh can have been worth but little to the Conqueror.

Three of the tenants in chief were churchmen, but their holdings were scattered and generally small. The Archbishop of York held part of Wykeham; at Salton "Ulf had two manors, now St. Peter has in the demesne half a plough and four villeins with 1½ ploughs."[2] Crayke and Brompton, near Northallerton, belonged to the Bishop of Durham; the Abbot of St. Mary's Abbey at York held land in and near Whitby.

THE ENGLISH

The English lost[3] most of the lands they had held before the Norman Conquest. Gospatric, the son of Archill, was the only Englishman in Yorkshire whom William allowed to retain any portion of his ancestral estates, and he appears in Domesday as tenant of thirty-two manors in the North Riding, although he lost most of the land he possessed in the Confessor's time. His holding included parts of Brafferton and Snainton, and probably four or five hundred acres at Picton, but the greater part of the valuable manor of Masham was taken from him. Some of the King's Thegns, the retainers or household servants of Edward the Confessor, continued to hold land. Orm held land at Ormesby, Archill[4] at Marton, Ligulf at Kildale; Ughtred's land at Stokesley, which had fallen in value from £24 in the time of the Confessor to £8, was the most valuable estate held by the King's Thegns in the North Riding. Some of the King's land in Cleveland was held by Englishmen; parts

1 Near Scarborough. 2 "Domesday," Salton. 3 *Y.A.J.*, Vol. IV., p. 384.
4 Not Gospatric's father, who, if still alive, was probably living in exile in Scotland.

of Guisborough by Ulchel, of Ingleby Arncliffe by Malgrim, of Busby and Faceby by Lesing.

Some Englishmen remained on their old estates, holding them as tenants of a Norman overlord. Count Alan the Red seems to have adopted a liberal policy towards the conquered race, and Gospatric held much land under him. "In Thornton Steward, Gospatric had[1] a manor. Now the same has it himself of the Count."[2] Bernulf held under the Count the manor of Thirn, which he had formerly held in chief of the crown, and the names of Landric and Uchtred appear among the other tenants of the Count. Robert de Mortain had little love for the conquered people, and on his estates there was only one English tenant; there were none at all on those of Berengar de Todeni and Robert Malet. The general result of the Conqueror's policy was the displacement of English by Norman landholders.

The Conquest settlement did not long remain undisturbed. On the departure of the Earl of Chester, William de Percy became tenant-in-chief of Whitby. Robert de Mortain rebelled against Rufus, Robert's son William against Henry I., and their estates were resumed by the King and regranted to others. Richard de Surdeval and Nigel Fossard obtained the lands they had held as tenants of the Count of Mortain. Helmsley was given to Walter l'Espec and passed from him to his brother-in-law, Peter de Ros I. The Baliols received Stokesley and land in Teesdale during the reign of William Rufus, and, probably in the beginning of the reign of Henry I.,[3] Robert de Brus obtained 21,000 acres in the North Riding, including about 14,000 in Cleveland; most of this consisted of land previously included in the royal domain, although some had been part of the Count of Mortain's holding. About the same time the family of Mowbray received a large part of the Vale of Mowbray, and important holdings in the Vale of Pickering at Kirby Moorside and Hovingham.

CONDITIONS OF TENURE-IN-CHIEF OF THE CROWN

In return for every knight's fee they held, the tenants-in-chief of the crown owed military service; they were required to provide one fully equipped knight to serve in the royal army for forty days in each year. But in course of time a money payment of fourpence or sixpence a day was accepted instead of military service, and such payments, known as scutage, were certainly taken by Henry II. in 1159, and probably had been taken earlier.[4] In

[1] *i.e.*, as tenant-in-chief of the crown in the preceding reign.
[2] "Domesday," Thornton Steward. [3] Page 246.
[4] Pollock and Maitland, "History of English Law," Vol. I., p. 267 and note 253.

1161 William Fossard paid £40 in lieu of Knight Service, and a few years later Adam de Brus II. made a payment of £16, probably on the same grounds, towards the cost of the wars against the Welsh. The feudal levies thus raised formed the main part of the armies which resisted the Scots.

Feudal "incidents" or money payments became due on certain definite occasions. "Aids" were payable to meet the cost of the King's ransom if he were made prisoner, to pay the dowry of the King's eldest daughter, to meet the cost of knighting his eldest son. Peter de Brus III. paid a fine of £16 in 1245 when Henry III.'s daughter married the King of Scotland, and another of £32 in 1258 when the King's eldest son Edward was made a knight. Heavy fines or "reliefs" became due to the King when a tenant-in-chief succeeded to his estate; Peter de Brus III. paid three hundred marks on succeeding to the estates of his father, Peter II., who, on his own accession, had had to pay £100 for the relief of his barony and forty marks for the wapentake of Langbaurgh. In 1189 Richard I. exacted 2000 marks from William de Stuteville as a fine for confirming him in his lands at Knaresborough, and when John restored to Peter de Brus I. the lordship of Danby, which Henry II. had taken from Adam de Brus I., Peter had not only to return the lands in the West Riding which had been given in exchange, but also to pay a fine of £1000.

The guardianship of youthful heirs and the marriage of heiresses of immediate tenants belonged to the King, who often sold these rights for considerable sums of money. As the guardian received the profits of the estates he administered and could sell the marriage of an heiress to the suitor who offered the largest price, he often made a considerable profit on the transaction. Robert de Turnham paid King John 1000 marks for the wardship of Stephen de Meynell of Whorlton, and Peter de Mauley IV. paid all his debts out of the profits of the estates of his ward Ralph de Bulmer, the heir of Wilton. Brian of Bedale, in 1235, paid 500 marks and seven palfreys for a wardship and marriage, and Walter de Percy of Kildale was fined eighty marks for marrying the daughter of a Scottish nobleman without Edward I.'s permission.

MESNE TENANTS

The lands which the tenants-in-chief of the crown retained in their own hands were known as their demesne. The rest they granted to tenants, and naturally gave the preference to their relatives and friends. These frequently sublet a portion to others, and became known as "mesne" or mediate tenants, because, on the feudal ladder, they stood mid-way between the lord of whom they held,

and their own tenants to whom they stood in the position of lords.[1] Ribald, Lord of Middleham and Bodin of Ravensworth, held their land as tenants of their brother, Count Alan the Red; one of the Percys gave the fief of Kilton to Sir Robert de Thweng, whose family had long been tenants of his own in the East Riding.

Valuable grants were made to faithful servants, and the seneschal, steward or treasurer of a great baron was a man of considerable local importance. Anketil de Bulmer, the ancestor through the female line of the Nevilles, was steward of Nigel Fossard, who gave him the manor of Hutton.[2] Wymar was seneschal of Alan the Red, from whom he received Leyburn and Hornby; Scolland, the seneschal of Alan the Black, held Bedale, and Robert de Mortain gave his butler Alured thirty-five carucates in Cundall, in addition to other lands in the counties of Northampton and Nottingham.

As the mesne tenants also sublet part of their holding, land tenure often became a very complicated problem. At the end of the thirteenth century, William le Scrope held half of East Brotton "of Ralph FitzRanulf, and the same Ralph of Mary de Neville, and the same Mary of the heirs of Thornton Steward, and the same heirs of the Earl of Richmond and the Earl of the King."[3] Fiefs were held by women both immediately of the King and as mesne tenants; at Walburn "one carucate is held of the Lady of Leyburn, and the same Lady holds of Mary de Neville."[4] Lady Margareta de Ros held three and a half knight's fees in Faceby, Sexhow and the neighbourhood of "our lord the King in chief."[5]

CONDITIONS OF MESNE TENURE

Mesne tenants often held lands of tenants-in-chief of the crown on condition of military service. They generally paid the usual "incidents" and rendered military service which they could commute for money payments, although "castleguard," the duty of guarding a specified portion of the overlord's castle for a definite time, was rarely so commuted. Roald of Constable Burton rendered castleguard to the Earl at Richmond Castle for thirteen knight's fees during the months of February and March; the lords of Middleham had to garrison Robin Hood's tower in the same castle.[6]

But military service was not a necessary condition of mesne tenure and land held by a tenant-in-chief of the crown on condition of military service might be granted by him on totally different terms. Lands granted to the Church were often held in "frankalmoin" or free alms. They rarely involved military service to the grantor,

1 Pollock and Maitland, Vol. I., p. 233.
2 Later Sheriff Hutton.
3 "Kirkby's Inquest," Surtees, p. 152.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 157.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 132.
6 Horsfall, "Manor of Well and Snape," p. 8.

Bayeux Tapestry.

See page 105.

A MOTTE AND BAILEY CASTLE.

Godfrey Bingley.

See page 107.

MIDDLEHAM CASTLE.

[To face page 90.

Dr. J. L. Kirk.

PICKERING CASTLE.

A Postern Gate and the Moat.

To face page 91.]

but were given on condition that the grantees prayed for his soul or the souls of his family. Prayer was a form of spiritual warfare, and such lands were regarded as being held by spiritual knight service, which was more honourable than service rendered with the arm of flesh.

In many cases a special payment or service was rendered in recognition of overlordship. Certain manors in Swaledale were held of the Earl of Richmond on payment of a pair of gilt spurs every year, and lands were held at Wath and Slingsby [1] on the same terms, with the alternative of a payment of sixpence at Easter in the last instance. Peter de Brus gave Leconfield to Henry de Percy, his brother-in-law, on condition that every Christmas Day he should lead Peter's wife by the arm from her chamber to the Chapel in Skelton Castle; Middleham was held by the delivery of a Danish axe, and some land near Marske [2] on payment of three roots of ginger at Christmas to the Earls of Richmond.[3] In some cases the services involved special personal attention; those who paid them were called servientes or serjeants, and service by serjeanty might be paid to a higher tenant or to the King. Nicholas de Meynell of Whorlton held lands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for which he served the Archbishop as pantler or butler at his enthronement feast; Edward III. gave Adam de Walton an estate in the forest of Galtres in return for his service in carrying a bow when the King was hunting.

Many mesne tenants were powerful nobles. In some cases the same man was both a tenant-in-chief of the crown and a mesne tenant. William de Percy held Topcliffe directly of the King and Whitby as a tenant of the Earl of Chester; the Thwengs held Danby in chief of the crown, but Kilton of the Percys. Important mesne tenants like William de Percy, Richard de Surdeval and Nigel Fossard sometimes became tenants-in-chief of the crown for the estates they had held as mesne tenants. The holding of a mesne tenant might be a very extensive tract of country; Nigel Fossard held ninety-one manors, and Richard de Surdeval fifty-five under Robert de Mortain; Walter de Ghent received the whole of Swaledale as the dowry of his wife Maud, daughter of Count Stephen of Richmond; Brian FitzAlan held about 7500 acres in Bedale; the mesne lords of Middleham and Cotherstone had large holdings in the Honour of Richmond. In early Norman and Plantagenet times many important mesne tenants held as much land as the smaller tenants-in-chief of the crown, and filled high offices in the state. But in 1295 an important distinction was made. The greater barons received a special summons to attend personally in parliament, while

[1] "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. I., p. 506. [2] Near Richmond.
[3] "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. I., p. 102.

the smaller became amenable to a general summons which was issued through the Sheriff of the County. To-day those entitled to a special summons are peers of the realm, and sit in the House of Lords.

THE KING AND THE BARONS

The barons added to their power by building castles to guard their lands,[1] but that power was limited by the royal authority.

Different parts of England were conquered at different times, and William I. granted lands to his followers soon after the conquest was effected. The estates of the greatest barons were, therefore, situated in different parts of the country. Robert de Mortain held the greater part of Cornwall, Alan of Richmond had land in Lincolnshire, Robert de Brus in the West Riding. This arrangement, which may have been due partly to deliberate policy on the part of the Conqueror and his successors, weakened the barons by making it difficult for them to collect all their forces to resist the King.

The old Saxon fyrd or militia, in which all men were bound to serve, supplied the King with a powerful non-feudal army. The Saxons soon saw that the King alone could protect them against baronial oppression, and gave him strong support in time of rebellion. When Robert de Mortain rose against William Rufus the Saxons flocked to the King's help ; it was a Saxon army that routed Robert Curthose at Tinchebrai in 1106, and thus reversed the verdict of Hastings.

ROYAL POWER OF RESUMPTION

All lands were granted by the King and could be resumed by him at pleasure. Fidelity to the King was generously rewarded by lavish grants ; rebellion had little chance of success, and was punished by confiscation, imprisonment, mutilation or death. William Rufus confiscated the lands of Robert de Mortain and blinded Robert de Mowbray. Henry I. resumed the estates which had been restored to William de Mortain. In 1277 Edward I. seized some lands at Linthorpe[2] because the holder, William Colin, had remained in Scotland after the time appointed for all Englishmen to return home. In 1322 Edward II. gave to John, Earl of Richmond, the town of Thirsk, which formerly belonged to John de Mowbray, " the King's enemy and a rebel who had fought for the Earl of Lancaster at Boroughbridge."[3] The Earls of Richmond lost their estates for

[1] Chapter X. [2] Middlesbrough.
[3] " Foedera," Vol. II., p. 480.

supporting the Kings of France, to whom they also owed allegiance, against the Kings of England. The barons of the North Riding took a leading part in the movement which compelled John to agree to Magna Carta in 1215. But when the infuriated King marched north the following year to punish his opponents, Robert de Ros was the only rebel in the Riding who escaped capture, and his castle of Helmsley was the only one that successfully resisted the King. Even a weak King like Edward II. was able to break the power of a noble as strong as Thomas of Lancaster.

CHAPTER IX

THE BARONS

BARONIAL RIGHTS

THE Barons enjoyed many rights and privileges in addition to those described in the preceding chapter.

They held their own law courts, which their tenants were bound to attend. They claimed the right of administering justice and executing laws in their own lands (sac and soc), of apprehending thieves (infangentheof), of hanging criminals (gallows), of holding the assizes of bread and beer, and punishing defaulting bakers and brewers. These rights were claimed by sub-tenants as well as tenants-in-chief, by women as well as men. The Earl of Richmond had gallows at Richmond and Bowes,[1] and a private gaol at Richmond; Agnes de Vesci had gallows and assize of bread and ale at Malton in 1276, and the same privileges were claimed about the same time by John de Bulmer at Normanby in Pickering Lythe, Richard de Malbisse at Thornton-le-Moor, William Wyvill at Slingsby, and Gilbert de Ghent at Reeth.

The forests belonged to the King, but valuable concessions were made to the barons. The King kept in his own hands the administration of the royal forest of Galtres, and the royal forest of Pickering was administered by the Earls of Lancaster, who were related to the kings; but the forests of the West were granted to the Earls of Richmond, and special permission was sometimes given to hunt in the King's forests. The leading barons received authority to enclose parks for the preservation of deer and game; grants of free warren, which gave a tenant the right of hunting on his own land, were very common.[2]

The revenue derived by the barons from their estates was increased by the profits of mines, fisheries and markets. The Brus worked the iron mines of Cleveland and the deposits of salt at Teesmouth. The Earls of Richmond worked the coal and owned the lead mines of Arkengarthdale, where, in 1285, the "Lord's Mine" returned a profit of £4. The Brus exercised jurisdiction over the valuable fisheries in the Tees; they held a court for the scrutiny of the nets used; they levied dues on ships that anchored

1 "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. I., p. 12. 2 For details see later Chapter on the Forests.

at Coatham and exacted tolls from ships sailing up the river; they claimed anything found lying on the shore of their lands (jetsam), or floating in the adjoining sea (flotsam). Every baron granted to the people of some of his townships the right of holding fairs and markets and levied a toll on articles exposed for sale.

But in spite of their large estates and valuable rights some of the barons seem to have been hard pressed for ready money. The Scottish raids seriously impaired their receipts, which were often paid in kind, and feudal incidents were a heavy charge. Sometimes debts due to the crown were cancelled in return for faithful service; in 1281 Edward I. forgave Nicholas de Meynell a debt of one hundred marks in acknowledgment of valuable help rendered in the Welsh wars, and about the same time Brian FitzAlan of Bedale was allowed to pay the debts he owed to the King in yearly instalments of £20. Some of the barons tried to meet their difficulties by borrowing of the Jews of York, the great moneylenders in the North of England. The massacre of the Jews in 1190 was partly due to the instigation of their debtors. On the death of Aaron of York, who is said to have been the original of Isaac in Ivanhoe, Adam de Brus II. owed him eight hundred marks. About the year 1204 Richard de Malbisse was excused from paying his debts to the Jews until he had discharged those he owed to the crown.

Ties of blood and community of interest formed strong bonds of union between the local barons, and combination for definite objects strengthened their power. Members of the great families frequently intermarried; the names of Brus, Neville, Percy, Thweng, FitzHugh, Bulmer, Meynell and others occur frequently in local pedigrees, and relatives were often ready to take up a kinsman's cause. As a general rule the barons acted together in important questions such as resistance to the Scots, the support of Stephen and opposition to King John. When an attempt was made to deprive Sir Robert de Thweng of the advowson of Kirkleatham Church,[1] the Lords Percy, Neville, FitzRanulf, Vesci, Mauley, Meynell, Ros, Brus, and about twenty knights joined to support his cause and enabled him successfully to assert his rights.[2]

THE KING AND THE BARONS

The barons possessed great power, but that power was limited by the fact that all their lands and all their rights came from the King, and were granted by royal charter. No baron could enclose a deer park, or establish a market, or make a grant to a religious house without the King's consent. A royal licence was required to build a castle or to add battlements to a manor house, and,

[1] Page 81. [2] I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII., p. 77.

although under Stephen's weak rule this regulation was relaxed, it was rigorously enforced by Henry II., who destroyed the "adulterine" castles which had been erected without royal licence. The destruction of castles formed part of the punishment for rebellion. In 1174 Henry II. destroyed Roger de Mowbray's castle at Thirsk and the Bishop of Durham's at Northallerton. Upsall Castle was razed to the ground because John de Mowbray had fought against Edward II. at Boroughbridge in 1322.

The baronial jurisdiction was limited by the continuance of the wapentake courts, over which they had no authority; by the authority of the sheriff of the county, who became a royal nominee; by the powers exercised by the King's itinerant justices, who, in the reign of Henry II., were commissioned to sit in the baronial as well as the royal courts. High rank did not always save an offender from punishment. Adam de Brus II. and his son were each fined £100 for forest trespass; Stephen de Meynell was fined £5 in 1166 for appropriating a whale which had been cast ashore.[1] Richard de Malbisse was compelled to pay Richard I. a fine of £100, two hawks, two leash of harriers and four palfreys to secure possession of the lands which had been taken from him as a punishment for his share in the massacre of the Jews at York in 1190.

But the barons strongly resented the limitation of their authority, and some did not hesitate to take advantage of the weakness of a King like Henry III. or Edward II. in order to maintain their own position. In the reign of Henry III., Robert de Ros was accused of preventing the King's bailiff from holding the wapentake court at Helmsley.[2] In 1276 complaints were made that John de Stonegrave prevented the King's justices from entering his lands for any purposes. In 1318 William Wyvill of Slingsby was impleaded for debt in the wapentake court; he broke up the court, drove his unfortunate creditor in headlong flight, and when he took refuge in Slingsby Church, blockaded him there until the neighbours raised the siege.[3]

KIRKBY'S INQUEST

From time to time the King sent commissioners to hold an "inquest" into the condition of the country, to ascertain if the terms on which the land was held were duly observed, and to settle disputes. The most famous of the inquests was that held by John de Kirkby, the Treasurer, in 1284-5,[4] and his Report gives much valuable information as to the condition of the Riding. Twelve sworn jurymen gave evidence from each wapentake; the inquest

1 Farrer's "Early Yorkshire Charters," Vol. II., p. 135.
2 "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. I., p. 493.
3 "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. I., p. 559.
4 Richmondshire was surveyed two years later.

was held for Langbaurgh at Ormesby "on the Sunday before the Passion of our Lord in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Edward I.," but other places where inquiry was made are not specified. In many cases particulars could not be ascertained. It was impossible to ascertain what services the Earl of Richmond[1] owed for Catterick, Bainbridge and Hornby; Nicholas de Meynell claimed by royal charter a fair, free-warren, park and gallows at Wilton, "but how he got it, and when, cannot be found by inquiry." [2] With a frankness rarely found in official reports, Kirkby says, "we say nothing because we know nothing" about an annual payment due from Lastingham and Gilling.[3]

The farms or amounts due to the King from each wapentake, and the contributions of different localities to the farm of the wapentake, are sometimes given. The manor of Pickering and the wapentake of Pickering Lythe paid £7 10s. 0d. a year before Henry III. gave them to the Earl of Lancaster; Langbaurgh paid £17 2s. 2d.[4]

Claims were made for certain rights. Henry de Percy at Seamer, John de Vesci at Brompton in Pickering Lythe, and John de Wake at Cropton claimed the rights their ancestors had exercised to have their own courts and gallows, and the right of judging robbers. Marmaduke de Thweng claimed the wreck of the sea for the manor of Yarm, Walter de Fauconberg for the barony of Skelton, in both cases as husbands of de Brus heiresses.[5] Instances occur of exemption from payment of royal dues. Brompton in Allertonshire paid no contributions, because it was in the demesne land of the Bishop of Durham; Nicholas de Meynell refused to allow the people of Lythe and Hutton Rudby to make any payments, because the terms on which he held the land of the Archbishop of Canterbury rendered such payment unnecessary. Many claims were made to special rights; the Earl of Lancaster's manor of Pickering "does not come under the authority of the Sheriff, except in matters which pertain to the crown of our Lord the King," [6] and the Earl's bailiff "makes enquiries after criminals in his district, and sends prisoners to the prison at Pickering, and tries them at the next court, condemning the guilty and absolving the innocent."

The Inquest shews that the King did not always receive his dues. Some lands in Burton Dale, near Scarborough, which were held by Henry de Percy, had paid no taxes since the reign of John[7]; Peter de Mauley prevented the King's bailiffs from taking money due from Lythe and Egton[8]; Nicholas de Meynell, the turbulent lord of Whorlton, owed the King twelve years' fines for his land at Carlton.[9]

1 Kirkby's "Inquest," Surtees, p. 148. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 132. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 147 and 134. 5 *Ibid.*, *op. cit.* 6 *Ibid.*, p. 147.
7 *Ibid.*, *op. cit.* 8 *Ibid.*, p. 125. 9 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

THE BARONS AND THE CHURCH

Local nobles founded and endowed not less than twenty four religious houses in the North Riding.[1] The only great family which did not found one in the Riding was that of the Earls of Richmond, but Alan the Red founded St. Mary's Abbey in York, and members of the family frequently confirmed and increased endowments made by their sub-tenants. Some of the nobles founded houses outside the Riding. Roger de Mowbray was reputed to have founded no less than thirty-five, but it is doubtful if he founded more than Byland and Newburgh; Walter l'Espec founded Kirkham Priory just outside the borders of the Riding, and the Abbey of Warden in Bedfordshire; William le Gros, Earl of Aumale, founded Meaux in the East Riding to atone for his failure to go on the Crusades. The barons built and endowed many Parish Churches and established hospitals for the poor, the aged and the sick. In many cases the foundation was due to sincere piety, notably in the case of Walter l'Espec, who "made Christ his heir"; in some it is not uncharitable to suppose that fear of the wrath to come was the main motive.

Rapacious barons sometimes resented the growing power and wealth of the religious houses, and, notably in the reign of Stephen, tried to deprive Abbeys and Churches of their lands and revenues. The generosity which Robert de Brus had shown to Guisborough Priory "was little to the liking of Adam, his son and heir"; Roger de Mowbray was compelled to give compensation to the Archbishop and Canons of York for injuries done in Stephen's reign. The Archbishop and Canons apparently found that it was not easy to forgive their enemy, and Pope Alexander III. ordered them not to persecute Roger, because after he had made amends "the Archbishop and many of his Canons, calling their injuries more to mind than is fitting, presume to molest him."[2] Peter of Savoy, Earl of Richmond, harassed Jervaulx Abbey "with continual persecutions for ten years."[3]

In their old age the barons often took religious vows, sometimes as lay brethren, because even minor orders ensured the special help of the Church at death. About 1100, Ribald, Lord of Middleham, "in his old age, betaking himself to a devout course of life, was shorn a monk in the Abbey of St. Mary at York."[4] Robert de Ros II., one of the heroes of the struggle for Magna Carta, joined the Templars; Walter l'Espec became a monk at Rievaulx, and died there in 1153. Aelred, the third abbot, gives a vivid picture of the founder of his

[1] Whitby, Easby, Rievaulx, Byland, Jervaulx, Guisborough, Mount Grace, Old Malton, Eggleston, Marrick, Ellerton, Grey Friars and St. Martin's Richmond, Coverham, Scarborough, Rosedale, Yeddingham, Basedale, Handale, Grosmont, Keldholm, Marton-on-the-Forest, Moxby, Newburgh.

[2] "Early Yorkshire Charters," Vol. II., p. 438.

[3] "Math. Paris," Vol. V., p. 356.

[4] Dugdale, "Baronage," Vol. I., p. 53.

house.[1] "An old man, full of days, quick-witted, prudent in counsel, moderate in peace, circumspect in war, a true friend, a loyal subject. His stature was passing tall, his limbs all of such size as not to exceed their just proportions, and yet well matched with his great height. His hair was still black, his beard long and flowing, his forehead wide and noble, his eyes large and bright, his face broad but well featured, his voice like the sound of a trumpet setting off his natural eloquence of speech with a certain majesty of sound." Younger members of baronial families followed the religious life. Serlo, the brother of William de Percy I., became Prior of Whitby Abbey, and William, the son of the founder, was its first Abbot; Mary de Ros was Prioress of Keldholm; William the brother of Robert de Brus, was the first Prior of Guisborough, and William, the uncle of Walter l'Espec, of Kirkham. Robert the third and Thomas the fourth and last Lord Thweng of Kilton were both priests, and the latter founded a chantry at Kirkleatham in 1348. Nicholas de Meynell of Whorlton escaped capital punishment for murdering one of the Mowbrays near Easby by pleading that he was a clerk; he had probably taken minor orders to protect himself from the consequences of his crime. Stephen de Mauley, a son of Peter de Mauley II., took holy orders, and at the end of the thirteenth century held the office of Archdeacon of Cleveland. When we recall the record of his family, we are pleasantly surprised to find that a Mauley was also among the prophets. But we remember that in the Middle Ages the characters of Archdeacons were open to grave suspicion, and the question "Can an Archdeacon be saved?" was a frequent subject of debate among the learned. Perhaps Stephen held the clerical office for which he was best fitted.

The privilege of burial within the religious houses was greatly valued. Many of the Brus family, their relatives and friends, the Percys of Kildale, Fauconbergs, Darcys and Eures were buried in Guisborough Priory; Easby Abbey and Wensley Church were the resting places of the Scropes; Roger de Mowbray is said to have been buried at Byland, although it is doubtful if he returned from his last visit to the Holy Land. Notorious wickedness did not exclude Lucia de Thweng[2] from burial in Guisborough Priory, or Robert de Neville[3] from interment in the chapter house at Coverham. At least seven heads of the family of FitzHugh of Cotherstone and Ravensworth were buried at Jervaulx. On the death of Ralph FitzRanulph in 1270, his heart was buried in the monastery of the Grey Friars at Richmond which he had founded, his body in Coverham Abbey, of which his grandmother, Helewise de Glanvil, had been the foundress. William de Percy I. died in Palestine, but his heart was brought home and buried in Whitby Abbey.

[1] Aelred De Bello Standardi. [2] Page 250. [3] Page 242.

THE TURBULENCE OF THE BARONS

The turbulence of the barons was at all times a serious menace to the peace of the country. Successful warfare brought a rich reward, and risings against the King gave opportunities for fighting of which the barons took full advantage. They were ever ready to take up arms to enforce their rights, and highway robbery proved a profitable source of revenue. Yafforth Castle was little more than a robber stronghold of the Earls of Richmond, who built Hutton Conyers to overawe the town of Ripon.[1] Sir Robert de Thweng plundered the houses of alien clergy in Yorkshire and collected a great store of rich plunder at Kilton. In 1317 two Cardinals sent by the Pope to mediate between the Earl of Lancaster and Edward II. were seized by Sir Gilbert de Middleton and robbed of all their property[2] at Rushyford, in the county of Durham. Thomas of Lancaster, with a large force of armed men, rescued them and conducted them to Boroughbridge. From Boroughbridge the Earls of Hereford and Pembroke, with a new army, took them to York. In the same reign, Sir Josselyn Deyville sacked the palace of the Bishop of Durham at Northallerton. He was a man of knightly family who had been educated for the Church, but became the most famous robber in Yorkshire in Plantagenet times. With his band of two hundred men, whom he dressed as friars, "he robbed with such boldness that country seats were forsaken, and men sought safety in fortified cities."[3] These two criminals were captured and executed, but only with the greatest difficulty. Lancaster needed "a powerful army" to rescue the cardinals; the sheriff of the county with a force of five hundred men captured Deyville after a desperate struggle.

The valour of the nobles found a legitimate field of action in the wars against the Scots, Welsh and French, and many went on the Crusades to atone for cruelty to fellow Christians at home by cruelty to infidels abroad. Peter de Mauley II. and Peter de Brus II. went on a crusade with Richard of Cornwall in 1242, and, "while fighting for God in the Holy Land, passed gloriously to the company of Christ in Heaven."[4] The three gold cockle shells which formed part of the arms of the Ingelrams of Ingleby Arncliffe were first borne by a member of the family who accompanied Brus, and after his death visited the shrine of St. James of Compostella. John de Vesci went to Jerusalem and returned safely to Malton. The fourth and sixth Lords Ros of Helmsley died on their way to the Holy Land, and the three water bougets in the family arms represent the skin bags used for carrying water in the East.[5] Roger

[1] I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 398, 357.
[2] "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. II., p. 333.
[3] Ingledew's "Northallerton," p. 117.
[4] "Math. Paris," Vol. II., p. 175.
[5] I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 331.

de Mowbray, of Thirsk, was a valiant soldier of the Cross; on his way home from the Crusades he "fought with dragons and lions in the valley of Sarranel,"[1] and tradition, which we reject with regret, asserts that he brought home a live lion and kept it in captivity at his castle at Hood. He went to Palestine again at the end of his long life, was captured by Saladin at the battle of Hattin in 1187, when the True Cross fell into the hands of the Turks, and was redeemed from his captors by the Templars and Hospitallers after an imprisonment of several months. Another Crusader of the same time, Hugh de Neville, also gained a great reputation as a lion slayer, "he first shot the lion in the breast with an arrow, and then ran him through with his sword."[2] Geoffrey le Scrope of Masham was killed in 1362 while fighting in Lithuania against the heathen of the Baltic coast.

MORALITY

The conditions under which the barons lived made decency impossible and morality difficult. Most of their household were crowded together in the wooden buildings that crowned the motte of early castles, or in the keeps of later times. We may assume that the keeps provided better accommodation than the earlier structures, but the keeps were utterly insanitary and privacy was unknown. At Middleham the household probably numbered about 120 persons, men and women. Small chambers were provided as bedrooms for the lord and his family, the rest of the household ate and slept together in the great hall. Only two garderobes were provided, and there was no proper drainage. Personal cleanliness was unknown; the baron and people rarely, if ever, washed themselves, and the filthy habits of the time led to plague and pestilence which claimed thousands of victims. The conditions under which the nobles lived were as bad as those of the worst slums in our great cities to-day, and defective housing impaired health and lowered moral tone. The chapter on Early Yorkshire Pedigrees[3] shows that many of the barons were utterly immoral. Richard de Malbisse was not the only one who was "rightly called Evil beast." The women of their households were at their mercy, and although they made lavish grants to the monastic houses, their religion was rather a benevolent theory than a guide to moral conduct. The barons' daughters were married young to save their chastity; Matilda de Kilton married Sir Richard de Hauterive when she was only twelve years old. Robert de Thweng, son of Lucia (de Brus), was born when his mother was fifteen, and his wife, Maud, was only

[1] Dugdale. [2] "Math. Paris," Vol. III. p. 71. [3] Page 208.

eight at the time of their marriage; Lucia de Thweng married William le Latimer at the age of fifteen.[1]

Happily the Thwengs, the Mauleys and "that one-eyed wicked traitor" Eustace FitzJohn of Malton, were not the only type of local barons. If some were savage, illiterate and immoral, others were justly honoured for their uprightness, and even for their learning. Walter l'Espec and Roger de Mowbray were famed for sincere piety as well as for bravery on the field of battle, and at a time when few nobles could read or write, l'Espec proved himself "the encourager alike of French literature and English historical study."[2]

GENERAL

In spite of grave faults the barons of the North Riding deserved well of their age, to which they rendered most valuable service in many ways. Members of most of the great families acted as sheriffs for the county of York, and in this capacity administered justice, settled financial questions and raised armies; some acted as the King's justices; the governors of the royal castles of Scarborough, York and Pickering were frequently chosen from their numbers; the guardianship of the royal forests of Pickering and Galtres was placed in their hands. Sometimes even more important duties fell to their lot. In the reign of Henry III., Robert de Ros of Helmsley, and John de Baliol of Barnard Castle, acted as Regents of Scotland, but in 1255 were accused of having treated "unjustly and dishonourably the Kingdom, King and Queen of Scotland, the guardianship of which had been entrusted to them."[3] Henry de Percy was made Governor of Galloway, and later Regent of Scotland, and Brian FitzAlan of Bedale, Regent of Scotland by Edward I. Peter de Mauley V. was appointed Warden of the Scottish Marches. Sir Henry le Scrope of Bolton, and his brother Sir Geoffrey le Scrope of Masham, became Lord Chief Justice of England, and Sir Henry's son Richard was Lord Chancellor in the reign of Richard II.

It would be unjust to judge the barons of the Middle Ages by the standard of the twentieth century. In spite of their faults, which were those of the time, they served their day and generation well. By resisting the attacks of the Scots, they rendered most valuable service to the Riding; by aiding the movement which compelled John to accept Magna Carta they promoted the cause of national liberty.

[1] I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 84-5, and Dr. Hamilton Thompson, "Introduction to Northumbrian Pleas," Vol. II., p. 24.

[2] Freeman, "Norman Conquest," Vol. V., p. 267. [3] "Math. Paris," Vol. V., p. 501.

CHAPTER X

NORTH RIDING CASTLES[1]

THE earliest European Castles were constructed by the French during the tenth century to resist the invading Northmen, but none was built in England until 1048, when Ralph, Count of Hereford, a Norman nephew of Edward the Confessor, built "the castle" in Herefordshire. At least one other castle, possibly Clavering in Essex, was built before 1066, but the Norman conquest led to the construction of a large number. The Norman barons found in their castles the best means of securing the lands their arms had won and of keeping the conquered Saxons in check; while in the North Riding, the continual danger of Scottish raids made strong fortresses essential for the preservation of life and property. By 1154 at least twenty-eight castles,[2] and possibly six more[3] had been built.

Roman roads afforded the only means of communication, and most of the castles were built on or near these roads. Richmond, Killerby, Pickhill, Topcliffe and Hutton Conyers were on or near the Ermine Street; Sheriff Hutton, Buttercrambe, Malton, Pickering, Cropton, Foss, Kilton and Skelton stood on or near the road which ran through the forest of Galtres to Malton, and thence over Wheeldale Moor to Dunsley and along the coast to Saltburn; Thirsk, Northallerton and Yafforth were built along the road from York to the Tees; Whorlton, Crayke and Middleham were also situated on or near Roman roads. The castles were nearly always built on the banks of a river or stream; Cotherstone on the Tees; Middleham on the Yore; Richmond, Catterick and Killerby on the Swale; Thirsk on Cod Beck; Topcliffe at the junction of the Swale and

[1] Readers desiring further information on the subject are referred to the Articles by Mr. W. M. I'Anson in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, which are the recognised authority on the subject.

Y.A.J., Vol. XXII., pp. 55-125, "Kilton."
Y.A.J., Vol. XXII., pp. 310-399, "The Norman Castles."
Y.A.J., Vol. XXIV., pp. 325-368, "Helmsley."

An interesting pamphlet "The Castles of Cleveland," by Mr. T. Matson, is published by Messrs. Hood and Co., Ltd., Borough Road E., Middlesbrough, price 2s. 2d. post free.

[2] I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII., p. 321; Cotherstone, Richmond, Killerby, Middleham, Pickhill, Yafforth, Topcliffe, Hutton Conyers, Thirsk, Northallerton (2), Castle Levington, Whorlton, Kildale, Skelton, Kilton, Foss (near Whitby), Castleton, Scarborough, Brompton in Pickering Lythe, Pickering (2), Cropton, Malton, Crayke, Sheriff Hutton, Buttercrambe, Helmsley.

[3] Carlton in Coverdale, Catterick, Feliskirk, Hood, Easby in Cleveland and Guisborough.

Codbeck; Castle Levington, Easby and Kildale on the Leven; Castleton in Eskdale; Buttercrambe and Malton on the Derwent; Kilton on Kilton Beck, Skelton on Skelton Beck, Helmsley on the Rye. Castles were generally built close to a church, and in the "burgus" castles of Skelton and Whorlton the church was included in the castle enclosure.

Care was taken to secure sites which were easily defensible; Richmond, Kilton, Castleton, Scarborough, Easby and Cotherstone stood on lofty bluffs which made some portions of the castle impregnable, and enabled the defenders to concentrate their attention on the more vulnerable points. Low-lying castles, and particularly Yafforth and Topcliffe, were defended by swamps and morasses which facilitated defence by narrowing the means of approach. Strategical considerations frequently determined the selection of sites. The Vale of York, so often harried by the Scots, was defended by thirteen, possibly sixteen, castles; the western dales, along which the Scots often advanced or retired, were commanded by Cotherstone, Bowes, Richmond and Middleham; the Eskdale castles kept the Cleveland dales in check; Helmsley, Brompton, Pickering and Cropton dominated the valleys running south; Crayke and Sheriff Hutton imposed some restraint on the lawless Forest of Galtres; Yafforth protected a ford on the Wiske, Killerby a ford on the Swale.

MOTTE AND BAILEY CASTLES

These early castles were utterly different from the stately buildings with which we are familiar. They were constructed of earth and timber, and only Richmond and Scarborough had any masonry work.[1] They were the permanent strongholds of the Norman barons, built to consolidate the power of individuals, and, therefore, differed from the "geweorcs" of the Danes, which were encampments of invading forces, and from the Anglo-Saxon "burhs," which were earthworks erected for the defence of a village community.[2] They may be regarded as the outward and visible sign of the triumph of the Feudal System.

In shape these Norman Castles resembled the figure 8, the smaller portion consisting of the motte, the larger of the bailey. A deep ditch, usually circular in shape, was dug and the earth was thrown into the centre, thus forming a mound, or, as it is technically termed, a "motte." The mottes varied greatly in height and diameter. Yafforth was thirteen feet high, Topcliffe forty-five, Pickering forty-four, Cropton twenty, Foss only thirteen. Topcliffe

[1] I'Anson, *op. cit.*
[2] See Mrs. Armitage's "Early Norman Castles of the British Isles."

measured only twenty-seven feet in diameter; Castle Levington and Middleham, which has been wrongly described "as the most perfectly preserved example of an Anglo-Saxon burh to be found in Yorkshire,"[1] covered half an acre, and Whorlton three-quarters. The motte was strengthened by a "banquette" or rampart, running round the circumference a few feet from the edge, and crowned by a strong timber palisade. On the larger mottes a strong wooden tower of two or three storeys was erected for the accommodation of the baron, his family and personal attendants. The ground floor of the tower served as a cellar in which provisions and stores were kept. Above this was the hall, the centre of the daily life of the fortress, which was approached by a flight of steps from the courtyard. In the hall the household took their meals, the lord with his family and guests at a table set on a dais at the end, the rest of the company on rough tables in the body of the hall. A door led from the dais to the "solar" or private room, where the lord and lady slept; a small room adjoining the solar served as their daughters' bedroom.

The retainers and adult sons of the lord slept on rushes and fern in the hall. The kitchen and larder adjoined the other end of the hall, and the food was cooked in the kitchen in winter, in the open air in summer.

The bailey was enclosed within a ditch, which varied in breadth from twenty feet at Middleham to two hundred and forty at Skelton, and was often strengthened by ramparts on the inner side or "scarp," and on the outer or "counterscarp." On the inner rampart a strong timber palisade was erected; the outer rampart was protected by a thorn hedge, or by stakes interwoven with thorns and osiers. The bailey ditch joined that of the motte on two sides, and thus the motte was placed on the circumference of the castle in a position which facilitated escape into the open country if the castle was stormed. A flying bridge of wood carried from the top of the motte to the counterscarp of the motte ditch formed the means of communication with the bailey. The baileys were oval or bean shaped; the small bailey at Middleham was only half an acre in extent, that of the Bishop's Palace at Northallerton covered two and three-quarter acres, and was about a quarter of an acre larger than the one at Pickering. Wooden buildings within the bailey provided accommodation for the garrison, stabling for their horses and store-rooms.

The motte and bailey castles were formidable strongholds in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They were difficult to carry by assault at a time when siege engines were rude and ineffective. The timber buildings were often protected by hides or banked up

[1] Speight "Richmondshire," p. 291.

earth, but in spite of these precautions, fire was a real danger. The well with which every castle was provided ensured a supply of fresh water, but a large force of besiegers often starved the garrison into surrender. The arrangements show that the lord had to guard against treachery from his followers, many of whom were mercenary soldiers ready to sell him for bribes. The motte was defended by its ditch from the bailey as well as from attack from without, and every night the bailey gate was locked, and the keys brought to the lord, who kept them under his pillow. But these castles were well adapted to their main purpose, "to defend their men against the attacks of dispossessed English and Danes," which is the reason given for the erection of Richmond Castle by Alan the Red[1]; the necessary material was easily obtained, and the conquered English supplied the labour. A motte and bailey castle could be built in a very short time, and we know that William I. built one on Baile Hill at York in eight days.[2]

Local castles show many variations from the general type. Carlton in Coverdale, Castle Levington, Beacon Hill (Pickering), Castleton, Cotherstone, Easby and Yafforth had no baileys; Scarborough, Kilton and Richmond had no motte. Skelton and Whorlton were burgus castles, and in each case the bailey abutted on a "burgus," or fortified enclosure, in which the village and church were included. By this arrangement the villagers lived secure under the direct protection of the Brus and Meynells, while in return they were bound to pay the lord rent, to grind their corn at his mill, to bake their bread in his oven, to render a percentage on market sales. Castle Garth at Thirsk may be the site of a burgus attached to the old castle of the Mowbrays.[3] At Sheriff Hutton and William's Hill (Middleham), the motte has an unusually high banquette which forms a depression in the centre. Helmsley was surrounded with double ditches, the outer dating from the reign of John,[4] and thus foreshadowed the concentric stone castles which Edward I. built in Wales.

Richmond and Scarborough were the only early castles which had any stonework, and this may be explained by the facts that they were cliff fortresses, which seem always to have been built of stone,[5] and that the rock on which they were built was too hard for the construction of earthworks. In the former case Alan the Red, and his brother Alan the Black, built a strong curtain wall, (except on the river side, where the precipitous cliffs served as an adequate defence), in which traces of the original Norman herring-bone work may still be seen, and Norman residential quarters,

[1] "Mon. Angl.," Vol. V., p. 574. [2] Page 63.
[3] Mrs. Armitage, "Early Norman Castles of the British Isles," p. 86.
[4] I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXIV., p. 347.
[5] Hamilton Thompson, "Military Architecture in England in the Middle Ages."

consisting of a hall and solar, and kitchens. The original chapel was built in a tower which protected the east curtain. At Scarborough, William, surnamed le Gros, Earl of Aumale and Holderness, " observing this place to be admirably situated for the erection of a castle, increased the great natural strength of it by a very costly work, having enclosed all the plain upon the rock by a wall, and built a tower at the entrance." [1]

Fourteen of the local motte and bailey castles continued in their original form, and their defences of earth and timber were never replaced by masonry. This is particularly remarkable in the case of Topcliffe, which was one of the main strongholds of the early Percys. Motte and bailey castles were built or rebuilt even after the introduction of rectangular keeps, and as late as about 1290, Stephen de Meynell rebuilt the earthen castle at Castle Levington, which had passed from the Brus, or their sub-tenants, the Fougères, into his possession. But the value of stonework for military architecture, which had been shown at Richmond as early as 1071, was fully recognised in the reign of Henry II., when most of the local keep castles were constructed.

RECTANGULAR KEEP CASTLES

Keep castles consisted of a ward or wards enclosed within a stone curtain wall or " enceinte," and a keep, which was placed sometimes within a ward, more often upon the enceinte. The White Tower of London and the keep at Colchester were built during the reign of William I., but the rectangular keep castles of the North Riding were all built in the later half of the twelfth century. Mr. I'Anson[2] gives the following dates :—Scarborough, 1157-1174 ; Richmond, 1160-1174 ; Bowes, 1171-1187 ; Middleham, 1170-1190 ; Helmsley and Mulgrave, 1190-1200. These strongholds were often built on the sites of the old, but at Killerby, Middleham and Foss the motte and bailey castles were abandoned when the new ones were finished.

The keeps were very strong, and the great stones hurled against them by " trebuchets " and other engines of war, made but little impression. They were rarely carried by assault. When, as at Richmond, they were built on rock which rendered undermining impossible, they became practically impregnable. The walls were of great thickness (at Richmond they were eleven feet thick, and fourteen where they enclosed a staircase), and passages, staircases and small chambers were made in the thickness of the walls. Richmond keep is a hundred feet high, Scarborough some ten

[1] " Chronicle of Meaux," Rolls Series, Vol. I., p. 13.
[2] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXIV., p. 349.

feet lower, Middleham about fifty-five feet high, and Bowes fifty. The original keep at Helmsley was seventy feet high, but additions made in the reign of Edward II. added thirty feet. The style of architecture is simple—flat pilaster buttresses form the main support; the plain exterior is often broken by string courses. There is little attempt at ornamentation, except at Scarborough, where a three-quarter moulding adorns the hollow angle. Strength and not beauty was the main object of the builders. The basement was used as a store house and cellar. The main hall was the chief apartment, and served as the living room, dining room, and dormitory for the garrison.

At Middleham and Bowes the first storey was divided into two rooms; the eastern and larger being the hall, the western, which was probably divided into two or more apartments, forming the solar or private rooms of the lord. At Richmond there was no such division, and as a rule the arrangement of the second floor resembled the first. The angles of the keep often contained small chambers and garderobes. To lessen the danger from arrows and the bolts of cross-bows, the lower windows were made as small as possible. The early roofs were high pitched, but in later years they were made flat in order to serve as platforms for engines of war.

Every effort was made to strengthen defence. The entrance to the keep was, as a general rule, on the first storey. At Richmond the approach to the entrance lay along the narrow rampart of the curtain wall; at Bowes the entrance was probably reached by a ladder. The main doors of the keeps at Middleham, Scarborough and probably Helmsley were strengthened by forebuildings. At Middleham the forebuilding was three storeys high; it abutted on the eastern wall of the keep, filled up the space between the keep and the curtain wall on that side, and contained the castle chapel. At Scarborough and Richmond the gateways of the castles were protected by gatehouses and barbicans. The former were strong stone buildings which could offer formidable resistance to an attacking force; the latter consisted of high walls, enclosing a narrow passage which hampered the movements of the enemy, and rendered them an easier target for the fire of the defenders. Scarborough had two barbicans, one protecting the approach to the outer ward, the other guarding the approach to the inner. Scarborough is the only early castle in the North Riding which was defended by a portcullis, and in this case the portcullis is a later addition.[1] Probably no mediæval castle in England presented such formidable obstacles to a besieging army. Access was obtained to the higher storeys of the keep by vices or circular staircases which were usually built into one of the corners; but at Richmond the staircase is straight,

[1] Mr. W. M. I'Anson in *The Yorkshire Post* June 14th, 1923.

and so arranged that an enemy who carried the lower storey would have to cross the great hall before he could enter the staircase leading to the upper.

While the rectangular keeps of the North Riding possess many common features, they exhibit some important points of difference. Middleham is an example of the self-contained residential keep. It contained all the scanty accommodation that was deemed necessary for a great baron at the end of the twelfth century; it was a residence and a home as well as a fortress. The keep at Richmond was a great mural tower; its object was to strengthen the defences of the castle by guarding the only entrance; it contained no garderobes, no fireplaces, and no chapel. The castle had three chapels; the chapel of St. Nicholas was built in Robin Hood's Tower on the curtain wall, and dates from the end of the eleventh century; the ruins of a second, which dates from the end of the thirteenth century, form part of the residential buildings; of the third, which was served by canons from Eggleston, no traces remain. The home of the Earls of Richmond was not in the keep, but in the residential buildings situated on the other side of the ward. Scarborough keep was built on the wall that separated the two wards, and was intended to protect the inner ward if the outer were captured. Helmsley keep was also a mural tower rather than a residential keep, and greatly added to the strength of the walls. Bowes castle was a garrison keep, built to defend the western lands of the Earls of Richmond from Scottish raiders; it was not intended as a residence, and contained no other buildings than the keep, although it was probably surrounded by a wooden palisade. No chapel was provided, the garrison attended the adjoining parish church.

SHELL KEEPS

Rectangular keeps were so massive that they had to be built on a flat surface, as the old mottes could not carry their weight. When a stone keep was placed on a motte it consisted of a hollow circle or oval of masonry, twenty or thirty feet high, and from six to fourteen feet thick. Wooden buildings, which in time were often replaced with stonework, were erected inside the enclosure to provide quarters for the garrison, and an encircling moat cut off the "shell" keep from the bailey of the castle. Many shell keeps were built in the twelfth century, but Pickering Keep, the only one of this type remaining[1] in the North Riding, dates from the early part of the thirteenth.

[1] Castleton and Cotherstone were shell keeps.

KEEPLESS CASTLES

The rectangular keeps were succeeded by cylindrical keeps, or Juliets, which form one of the chief features of military architecture in the early part of the thirteenth century. The North Riding supplies no example, but Conisborough Castle in the West Riding is the finest cylindrical keep in England. Kilton is an example of the keepless castle and illustrates another stage in development.

The keep was of great value for defensive purposes, but its narrow entrances and general arrangement seriously limited the chance of a successful sortie, and rendered it less effective as a means of offence. Experience had shown that once the bailey was taken the keep was of little practical utility. Builders, therefore, adopted the bold experiment of discarding the keep and strengthening the curtain wall. "The care, which, in the earlier castles, had been expended upon a single rallying point in the scheme of defence, was now applied to the whole outer wall of the castle, so that it began to offer a connected front to an attack." [1] The innovation was the construction on the curtain of a number of square or cylindrical flanking towers which enfiladed the walls so thoroughly that the enemy were prevented from approaching near enough to use breaching engines. The southern wall of Kilton was fully protected by the precipitous ravine upon which it stands, but the northern and vulnerable side was guarded by two towers and three turrets, which effectively commanded the whole of this part of the curtain, which was seven feet thick and, in places, fifty feet high.[2]

When the keep was no longer used as a citadel, it was usually incorporated in the residential block, as at Mulgrave. The erection of keepless castles necessitated the provision of a residence or "palace" in one of the wards, but, although the word "palace" is sometimes used to denote the baron's quarters, it must be remembered that these buildings were anything but palatial. At Kilton the residential part was built along the northern and eastern walls, and included a great hall with cellar beneath and kitchen at the western end. Adjoining the other end of the hall was the Chapel of St. Peter, and beyond were the private apartments which ran along the eastern wall of the castle, and consisted of three rooms. A strong curtain wall, built about 1260, and defended by a gatehouse and barbican, divided the ward into two, and cut off the residential part from the outer ward which contained the barracks and stables.

Kilton Castle was built by Sir William de Kilton between 1190 and 1214. That it could not be any earlier is proved by the exist-

[1] Hamilton Thompson, "Military Architecture," p. 215.
[2] For detailed account see I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII.

ence in the north-east tower of a well preserved loop-hole for a crossbow, and this weapon was not introduced into England until the time of Richard I. (1189-1199). Although Kilton was strictly the first keepless castle erected in Yorkshire, it is interesting to note that Alan the Red's castle at Richmond (about 1071) resembled it in the absence of a keep and the provision of a separate palace. But the arrangement at Richmond was accidental, and due to local conditions; at Kilton the builder deliberately adopted a new type which offered obvious advantages over the old.

PALACE FORTRESSES

In the course of time the importance of the castle as a military stronghold decreased. The legislation of Edward I. had tended to exalt the royal power; the barons of the later part of the fourteenth century were far weaker than their predecessors, and in the new system of government the military castle, which too often had given strength to baronial rebellions, lost its value as a means of resisting the King's forces. The French wars of Edward III. supplied the King with a force of archers strong enough to break the power of the most powerful baron. Gunpowder was first used in England in 1327 against the Scots, and cannon gradually, though slowly, became effective siege weapons. But the importance of the new arm must not be exaggerated; the Parliamentarian soldiers found the stone defences at Scarborough a most formidable obstacle as late as 1645. Social developments were inconsistent with the old feudal system, of which the baronial castle was one of the chief symbols. The rise of a wealthy merchant class and the growth of towns added to English life new elements which had no sympathy with the old order. Economic changes, the growth of luxury and a greatly improved standard of living made the nobles unwilling to endure the discomfort of the residential keeps.

These conditions led to the construction of a new type of castle, the palace fortress, in which comfort was as important a consideration as defence. The earliest example of the palace fortress type in the North Riding is Danby in Cleveland, which was built by William le Latimer about 1300; in the fourteenth century the Nevilles built around the Norman keep at Middleham a curtain wall, against which new domestic buildings were erected, and thus many of the characteristics of a palace fortress were added to a castle of an earlier type. Bolton, the licence for which was issued in 1379, and Sheriff Hutton, licensed in 1382, admirably illustrate the final development of this style. Bolton took nineteen years to build and cost 1000 marks each year.

These castles, in which the influence of the old rectangular keeps

is obvious, consisted of a rectangular curtain built around a quadrangle or courtyard. Owing to the continued danger from the Scots more attention was devoted to defence than was deemed necessary in the South of England.[1] The curtain wall was very strong, and protected by towers at each corner; the lower windows were small, and the more important looked into the courtyard, and not into the open. At Bolton the entrance was on the ground level. In Harvey's "Castles and Walled Towns of England," [2] the author states that the entrance to Bolton was on the first floor level. As Mr. I'Anson points out, this is incorrect. The original gateway still remains on the ground level; the flight of steps which gives access to the door on the western side was constructed in the eighteenth century; it is not bonded into the original work, and partially obscures two original lights. The five doorways which gave access from the court yard to the castle buildings had each its own portcullis, and even if an enemy had forced the main entrance he would find himself confined in the courtyard, and exposed to fire at short range from every quarter. The domestic buildings were built round the courtyard and against the curtain which formed their outer wall. The well opened into one of the upper rooms, and thus ensured a constant supply of water.

The manor house in these cases was not a separate building within the enclosure of the castle, but the castle itself was also the manor house.[3] The great hall remained the most important apartment, but was usually smaller than in earlier types of castles; it was often furnished with a minstrel gallery placed over the screens which divided the hall from the kitchen or buttery. A smaller hall was provided for the use of the family, and the private apartments adjoined it. These were often furnished with fireplaces, which, at Bolton, are admirably constructed with cavities in the wall behind, in which fuel could be stored. The comfort of the inmates was greatly increased by the construction of chimneys. At Bolton Leland [4] noticed "how chimneys were conveyed by Tunnells made on the Syds of the Wauls betwyxt the Lights in the Haul, and by this means is the smoke of the hearth wonder strangely conveyed." Separate bedrooms were provided for the family and distinguished visitors, and separate dormitories for servants and retainers. A chapel was included in the castle buildings, even when, as at Bolton, another church stood only a few yards away. Chancellor Scrope obtained a licence for a chantry for six priests in the castle chapel, but it is doubtful whether the chantry was ever built. The sanitary arrangements were infinitely better than those of former times, and full provision was made for storehouses, stables and bakehouses.

[1] But Bodiam Castle in Sussex is a conspicuous exception: see Harold Sands, "Bodiam Castle," Sussex *A.J.*

[2] p. 175.

[3] Hamilton Thompson, "Military Architecture," p. 317.

[4] "Iter.," Vol. VIII., p. 18.

E. Highfield.

See page 109. SHELL KEEP, PICKERING CASTLE.

Godfrey Bingley.

See page 112. BOLTON CASTLE.

[To face page 112.

Godfrey Bingley.

See page 113

TANFIELD TOWER.

Godfrey Bingley.

See page 113.

MORTHAM PEEL TOWER.

To face page 113.]

TOWER HOUSES

Gilling,[1] Whorlton,[2] and Tanfield may be regarded as tower houses which consisted of a strongly fortified tower surrounded by a curtain wall. At Gilling, the tower, of which the original basement remains, was built by Thomas de Etton in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The great chamber on the first floor is a magnificent example of Tudor work. At Tanfield a courtyard was enclosed by a curtain wall, but the chief feature was the gatehouse which was added for ornament rather than defence.

PEEL TOWERS

The influence of the rectangular keep was also seen in the peel towers which formed an important means of defence against Scottish raids, especially in Northumberland. These were small square keeps, sometimes strengthened by an enclosure or barmkin. In time of danger the upper storeys afforded refuge to the people of the neighbourhood, cattle were driven for safety into the basement. These towers provided adequate protection against an enemy who relied for success mainly upon rapidity of movement, and generally had neither the time nor the engines necessary to reduce fortified strongholds. The best example in the North Riding is Mortham Tower near Rokeby, but a number were built in Richmondshire, and Aske Hall, Hornby Castle, and Danby Hall (Wensleydale) show how a mediæval peel tower has become the nucleus of a great country house. Nappa Hall, near Askrigg, a fifteenth century hall, has two rectangular towers at each end of the building. It is an excellent example of a manor house of the period, but its military importance is small.

[1] Mr. J. Bilson gives a full description of Gilling Castle in *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XIX., p. 317.
[2] Not the gatehouse, but the tower built on the earlier motte, which has been lowered to receive it. I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII., p. 397.

CHAPTER XI

THOMAS, EARL OF LANCASTER

HENRY III. gave the royal manor, castle and forest of Pickering to his second son Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster. On Edmund's death his possessions passed to his eldest son Thomas, who became the most powerful subject of his weak cousin Edward II.

The Earl possessed, in his own right, the earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester and Derby, and in 1311 gained the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury on the death of his father-in-law Henry Lacy. He was a cousin of the King of England, uncle of Queen Isabella, and brother-in-law of the King of France. He is an excellent example of the "overmighty subjects" who formed so grave a danger to the royal power in the Middle Ages. "I do not believe," says William of Malmesbury, "that any duke or count of the Roman Empire could do as much with the revenues of his estates as the Earl of Lancaster."

Although his own interests were his first concern, Lancaster may be regarded as the champion of the barons' cause against the royal power which was steadily limiting their rights and privileges. Many of the old Norman families had lost much of their land, and some had disappeared altogether. But some of those that remained had become stronger, owing to the consolidation of a number of baronies in one hand, and these were anxious to secure independence of the crown such as the great French feudatories enjoyed. Lancaster and his friends claimed to be "peers" of the sovereign, and in an indenture drawn up between Edward II. and Lancaster at Leake, in 1318, provision was made that if Lancaster's representatives disagreed with the decision of the King's Council to which they were summoned, they might appeal to the "peers" in Parliament, who should have the power of redressing grievances.[1]

The possession of Pickering forest and manor gave Thomas of Lancaster great power in the North Riding. He could raise a large army from his tenants and from the forest officials and rangers. His supporters aided him against the King, and compelled the King's

[1] A. F. Pollard, "The Evolution of Parliament," p. 93.

tenants in Pickering Lythe to serve against their lord. It is probable that the grave danger from the many officials and servants required to supervise the forests was one reason why the Kings generally kept forests in their own hands.

The Earl treated the people of Pickering with severity. He refused to allow his subtenants to receive the fines paid by brewers for breaches of the Assize of Beer, although they were legally entitled to receive them. He compelled the inhabitants to attend his manorial courts more often than the law required, and refused to issue the usual writs of attendance.

But the visits of the Earl and his Countess to Pickering were not unmixed evils. Their splendid trains brought much trade to the little town, and many of the chief men of the neighbourhood shared their lavish hospitality. The Countess spent twelve months in 1313-14 in Pickering, and her expenses for pantry, buttery, and kitchen came to £285 13s. 4½d. for this period, while the total expenditure of the Earl in the year 1313 amounted to £7957 13s. 4½d., which must be multiplied by at least thirty to give the modern equivalent.

Thomas of Lancaster supported the claim of the barons to be the councillors of the King, and strongly opposed the favourites to whom the King gave his confidence. On the accession of Edward II., he had been appointed Steward of England, but within a few months Piers Gaveston, a greedy Gascon knight, became the King's trusted adviser, and the influence of Lancaster and the barons declined accordingly. Gaveston was created Earl of Cornwall, married the King's niece, and gained great possessions. The King left everything to him, and men complained "that there were two Kings in our Kingdom, one the King in name, and the other the King in reality." The barons, already angry at Gaveston's promotion, were infuriated by the nicknames he bestowed upon them. Lancaster was the Mummer, the Earl of Pembroke the Jew, the Earl of Warwick the Black Dog. "If he call me dog," growled Warwick, "I will take care to bite him."

In 1308 the barons, of whom Lancaster was one of the leaders, compelled the King to banish Gaveston to Ireland, but he was soon recalled. Lancaster's father-in-law, the Earl of Lincoln, acted as peacemaker and reconciled the Earl and Gaveston. But the gross misgovernment, for which Gaveston was mainly responsible, continued, and in 1310 Lancaster and his friends came to Parliament in battle array, demanded the dismissal of Gaveston and appointed Ordainers to draw up a new scheme of government. The Ordinances which the King was compelled to accept in the next year established a limited Monarchy. The barons secured control of the appointment of the chief officials; the King was forbidden to make war, to levy an army, or to leave the country without the consent of

Parliament. Gaveston was declared "a public enemy of the King and kingdom," and was "to be forthwith exiled, for all time and without hope of return."

In November, 1311, Gaveston went to Flanders. He soon returned, and in January, 1312, joined the King at York. Edward welcomed his favourite with open arms, and issued a proclamation that Gaveston's exile was illegal, and that he had returned by the King's orders. Gaveston's earldom and lands were restored.

The barons took up arms. The Earls of Lancaster, Pembroke, Hereford, Arundel, Warwick, and, later, Warenne swore to maintain the Ordinances. Archbishop Winchelsea excommunicated Gaveston. Lancaster marched on York, which Edward had fortified in expectation of attack, but the King and Gaveston did not await his arrival. They had alienated the people of the neighbourhood by ravaging the country, and failed to raise an army. They therefore fled to Newcastle, closely followed by Lancaster and Henry de Percy. At Tynemouth they embarked, leaving behind their horses, jewels and luggage, which Lancaster seized. From Tynemouth they sailed to Scarborough and took refuge in the castle, of which Gaveston had been appointed governor. The King thought that the castle could hold out against the baronial forces, bade his "brother Peter" an affectionate farewell, and hastened to York to secure aid. Lancaster stationed his forces between Scarborough and Knaresborough to intercept Gaveston if he broke through the besieging army; Pembroke, Warenne and Percy besieged Scarborough.[1] Gaveston tried to hold the castle with a small garrison, but was compelled to surrender within a fortnight owing to failure of provisions. Hereford promised to protect him from harm and to give him an opportunity of pleading his cause before Parliament. But Warwick, taking advantage of the absence of Hereford, seized Gaveston, and imprisoned him in Warwick Castle. He fell on his knees before Lancaster and begged "Gentle Earl, have mercy on me!"[2] But the Earl had no pity, "Take him away. By God! Let him be led away!" He was soon afterwards beheaded on Blacklow Hill. Lancaster shares the blame of the murder. It was committed on his property and in his presence, and he refused to listen to the victim's piteous appeals for mercy. Among those who supported Lancaster on this occasion was Sir Robert Colville of Ingleby Arncliffe, who afterwards received the royal pardon.

For a time civil war seemed imminent. Lancaster took the field with an army of 1000 heavy armed cavalry and a large number of lightly armed footmen. But in October, 1313, he and Warwick submitted to the King in Westminster Hall and received pardon.

[1] "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. II., pp. 326-7. [2] Leadman, "Battles fought in Yorkshire," p. 26.

The reconcilation between the Earls and the King was merely nominal. They refused to join the King in his expedition against Bruce in 1314, although they sent him soldiers. And when, after the disaster of Bannockburn, Edward returned in disgrace to York, men noted that the army that Lancaster had collected at Pontefract was greater than the army of the King.

The battle of Bannockburn made Lancaster supreme, and the death of his father-in-law, the Earl of Lincoln, in 1311, had removed the only influence that could restrain him. He now assumed command of the royal forces. The Parliament of 1316 awaited his arrival before commencing their work, and resolved "that the Lord King should do nothing grave or arduous without the advice of the Council, and that the Earl of Lancaster should hold the chief place in the Council." For two years Lancaster governed the country, and is justly condemned for his utter failure. The ill feeling between the King and the Earl continued. "Whatever pleased the King, the Earl's servants strove to overthrow; and whatever pleased the Earl, was declared by the King's servants to be treasonable." Lancaster failed to maintain order or to protect the North against the Scots. He joined the King in his unsuccessful expedition to Berwick in 1319, but men said that he had taken a bribe from Bruce and had done all he could to help his ally. The suspicion was strengthened when, in later Scottish raids, Lancaster's estates were left unravaged by order of the King of the Scots.

King Edward gradually strengthened his position. In 1321 Lancaster compelled him to dismiss his new favourites, Hugh Despenser and his son,[1] but this was the Earl's last success. The next year Edward displayed unusual vigour. Lancaster's ally, Roger Mortimer, submitted to the King at Shrewsbury. Edward then marched into Yorkshire where Lancaster's chief power lay. A royal proclamation was issued in February authorising the sheriffs to "raise the posse of the country if necessary, as certain magnates and others are going about the country, taking the King's castles and towns, and the castles and towns of his faithful servants, wounding and beating and slaying certain of the King's men and servants, and stealing the clothing, jewels, beasts and other goods and chattels of the King's men and subjects."

Lancaster collected his forces at Pontefract. He was joined by the Earl of Hereford and Roger Clifford, and by a large number of local men led by Gilbert of Ayton, Nicholas de Meynell of Whorlton, Henry de Percy of Topcliffe, John de Fauconberg of Skelton, John de Mowbray of Thirsk, and Philip Darcy.

The Earl fell back on the King's approach, and resolved to

[1] "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. II., p. 338.

retire to his castle of Dunstanburgh in Northumberland (one of the latest of the purely military castles in England, which he had built expressly as a refuge in the event of a defeat), and, if necessary, to withdraw to Scotland, where he was sure of a kind reception from Robert Bruce. On Tuesday, March 16th, 1322, he reached Boroughbridge, where he hoped that he "might rest safely one night."[1] But the wooden bridge over the Swale was held by a royal army, under Sir Andrew de Harclay, Warden of the Western Scottish Marches, who cut off Lancaster's retreat by placing dismounted knights and spearmen at the northern end. The adjoining ford was guarded by other spearmen, and Harclay's archers, posted on rising ground, commanded bridge and ford. Lancaster's attempt to win over Harclay failed. The battle began, and both parties "fought like lions." The Earl of Hereford led a charge against the bridge, Lancaster tried to force the ford. Hereford was slain by a Welsh spearman who hid beneath the bridge, and slew him with a spear thrust between the planks. The archers checked Lancaster and he retired to the little town of Boroughbridge. During the night the rebel forces were weakened by desertion, while Harclay received further help from Sir Simon de Ward, the High Sheriff of Yorkshire, who had raised the men of the county in obedience to the King's proclamation. Lancaster, seeing that all was lost, took refuge in the Chapel of St. James in the market place, saying, "Good Lord, I render myself to Thee, and put myself into Thy mercy."[2] But he was dragged from the sanctuary, and his defeated followers fled hither and thither—"the residue of the baron's party were pursued from place to place, and to the Churchhold was no reverence given; the father pursued the son, the son the father." The captives were deprived of their weapons, clad in old clothes and imprisoned. The Earl, stripped of his armour, and dressed in the livery of one of his servants, was taken to York, where the citizens pelted him with snowballs and shouted "Sir Traitor! you are not welcome." The most important prisoners received a mock trial at Pontefract, one of Lancaster's own castles. Lancaster was not allowed to defend himself, and was condemned to death as a traitor because he had "ridden through the land with banners displayed against the King's peace." On March 22nd he was dressed in the clothes of a penitent, mounted on a lean white horse, and led to a little hill outside the walls. His head was turned towards Scotland, where "his friends came from." A Dominican friar accompanied him to the place of execution, "Fair father," begged the Earl, "abide with me until I am dead, for my flesh quaketh for dread of death." There he was beheaded in sight of a jeering crowd; "a villain of London, after striking twice or thrice, cut

[1] Leadman, "Battles fought in Yorkshire," p. 43. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

off his head."[1] He was the first prince of the blood royal who was executed in England.[2]

John de Mowbray had been knighted for valiant service in Scotland, and had acted as Governor of Scarborough Castle, but his past services did not excuse his support of Lancaster. According to one account,[3] he escaped from the battle, was captured while fleeing towards his castle of Upsall, and beheaded on a tree trunk in a lane which was afterwards called Chophead Loaning. His limbs and armour were hung on a neighbouring oak. As a matter of fact he was hanged at York,[4] and buried in the Dominican Church. Clifford, "sore wounded on the head with an arrow," was hanged in chains on the keep of York Castle, which has since been known as Clifford's Tower. Sir John de Eure was beheaded, and over twenty-eight knights and barons were hanged. Sir Nicholas de Percy and Sir John Maltravers eluded their pursuers and fled beyond the seas. Sir Nicholas Stapleton's life was spared, but he was fined 2000 marks. Sir Philip Darcy received a free pardon.

The lands of some of the rebels were confiscated. Edward II., for a time, kept in his own hands the manor and castle of Pickering, and gave Mowbray's manor of Wodehall and the town of Thirsk to John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, who throughout the troubles of the time had been, like the Earl of Lincoln, a leader of the moderate party.

But within a few years restoration was made. In 1326, Edward II. granted Pickering to his "Beloved cousin Henry, Earl of Lancaster," the younger brother of Earl Thomas. In 1327, the fines imposed were remitted, and Parliament declared that Lancaster's "quarrel was just." Mowbray's wife and son were released from the Tower where they had been imprisoned after Boroughbridge, and his father's possessions were restored to the young John de Mowbray by Edward III.

The people forgot the misgovernment and possible treachery of Earl Thomas. They remembered that he had tried to limit the absolute power of the King, and that he had always faithfully supported the Church. The tragedy of his death excited their pity, and in the excess of their sympathy they honoured him as a saint. It was said that miracles were wrought at his tomb, that a dead child laid upon it had been restored to life, that madmen who touched it were made sane, that the blind received their sight. Images of the Earl were worshipped, a Guild of the Blessed Thomas of Lancaster was founded in his honour, and in 1327, Edward III. petitioned the Pope to canonise the Earl. The petition failed, and the worship of Lancaster's images was forbidden. But his

[1] Leadman, "Battles fought in Yorkshire," p. 49.
[2] "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. II., p. 342.
[3] Bogg, "Vale of Mowbray," p. 326.
[4] "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. II., p. 343.

memory remained, and as late as 1401, William of Northfolk, in Pontefract, left twelve pence for the maintenance of a light in the Guild, and 10s. to erect a wooden cross in his memory.

Thomas of Lancaster did not deserve these honours. He was greedy, cruel and incompetent. He did not understand the political conditions of the times. His main object was to use his great power for his personal advantage, and to this end he sacrificed loyalty to his King and patriotism to his country.[1]

[1] "England in the Later Middle Ages," Vickers, p. 123.

CHAPTER XII

THE DANGER FROM THE SCOTS

THROUGHOUT the Middle Ages, and especially under the feeble rule of Edward II., the North of England was continuously exposed to Scottish raids. The Kings of Scotland often gave shelter to English rebels, and were ever ready to support their cause by invading England. English criminals sometimes escaped punishment by fleeing to Scotland, as in the case of a monk of Rievaulx who had been concerned in the murder of one of the Mowbrays. The poverty of Scotland made its nobles eager for the spoil of rich monasteries and prosperous towns, while the cattle of the fertile Vale of York proved a strong attraction to their followers. The English were not slow to return raid for raid, and the Kings of England supported their claim to the overlordship of Scotland by frequent invasions.

The Scots came by different routes into Yorkshire. The eastern way lay through Northumberland and Durham, but strong castles at Alnwick and Newcastle, at Durham, Brancepeth and Raby guarded these counties and hindered the advance of the invaders. The castles at Naworth and Carlisle commanded the western route, but marauding bands often succeeded in slipping past them and entered the Vale of York down the valley of the Swale or the Ure. Men said that the lords of Richmond often allowed the invaders to pass unmolested, in order that they might fall upon them on their return and secure the rich booty they had obtained.

The Scots were well horsed and moved with great rapidity. They were a strong, hardy race, and wore but little clothing. Their provisions consisted mainly of oatmeal which was easy to carry, and they secured any meat they required by slaying the cattle of the English. Many of them were little better than savages, and they showed no mercy to conquered foes. "Whatever places the Scots and men of Galloway reached were full of horror and cruelty."[1] They carried off women of rank, "and these, naked, fettered, herded together by whips and thongs, they drove before them, goading them on with spears and other weapons, and finally,

[1] "Roger of Hoveden," Vol. II., p. 57.

these brutal men, when tired of misusing these poor wretches like unto animals, made them their slaves and sold them as cattle to other barbarians." [1]

EARLY RAIDS

North Yorkshire was still suffering from the Harrying of the North, when, in 1070, Malcolm Canmore, "passing with a vast multitude from Cumberland towards the east, laid waste the whole of Teesdale and the neighbourhood on both sides of the river with ruthless devastation." [2] Cleveland suffered severely on this occasion, although generally its hills and dense forests afforded some protection from the Scots. In 1093 Malcolm, for the fifth time, ravaged Northumberland, but his defeat and death at Alnwick lessened the danger of Scottish attacks for a few years.

On the death of Henry I. in 1135, his nephew Stephen secured the throne. The Empress Matilda, daughter of the late King, claimed the crown, and her claim was supported by her uncle, David of Scotland. In 1135 Eustace FitzJohn, a strong opponent of Stephen, admitted a Scottish force into Malton Castle, but Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, gathered an army, burned the town of Malton, captured the castle and compelled FitzJohn to flee to Scotland.

THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARD [3]

In 1138 David led a large army into Yorkshire to secure the crown of England for Matilda, and the Earldom of Northumberland for his son Henry. Thurstan, who had been appointed Lieutenant of the North by Stephen, sent a pastoral letter bidding all men come to fight against the Scots, who had shown even more than their usual cruelty in this invasion. His summons was well received. The people came headed by priests "bearing crosses and banners and relics of the Saints," and nearly every noble family of this neighbourhood sent one or more of its members. Two local men fought on the Scottish side. Eustace FitzJohn was one of the knights who fought under the banner of Prince Henry of Scotland; Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale, second son of Robert de Brus I. of Skelton, fought against the English army of which his father was one of the leaders. The English commander was the aged Walter l'Espec, whose voice was like the sound of a trumpet, whose hair was still black in spite of his years. William of Aumale was there,

[1] Richard of Hexham. [2] Brampton.

[3] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. X., p. 117; "Walter of Hemingburgh," Vol. I., p. 61; or Leadman's "Battles fought in Yorkshire," p. 14.

and some writers assign the command to him. Robert de Brus of Skelton, in spite of old friendship for King David, Bernard de Baliol, Robert de Stuteville, Roger de Mowbray, who was only nineteen, and Walter de Ghent, an old man nigh unto death, brought their tenants to fight for Stephen.

Thurstan wished to accompany the English, but he was so infirm that he had to be carried on a couch and stayed at York, helping them " by prayers and offerings, by vigils and by fastings." He sent the Bishop of Orkney as his deputy, and the Bishop and his clergy in full robes took their place round the Standard which gave its name to the battle, and which is said to have been set up on the site of Standard Hill Farm, three miles north-west of Northallerton. The Standard was a mast fastened to a rude wagon, and on the mast were placed the banners of St. Peter of York, St. Wilfred of Ripon, St. John of Beverley, and St. Cuthbert of Durham, under whose protection the English fought.

Before the battle began Bernard de Baliol and Robert de Brus, had an interview with the King of Scotland. Brus begged David to withdraw without a battle, and said " that rapine, spoil and destruction were the inevitable consequences of war; that though his army were the more numerous, yet the English were more strong and valiant, and resolved to conquer or die." But David's nephew William urged him to fight, and Brus " returning with sorrow to the English host, prepared for battle." The Bishop of Orkney reminded[1] the Norman knights of victories won in France and England, in Italy and Palestine. He bade them have no fear of the superior numbers of the enemy against whom their armour would afford sure protection. He gave absolution to all who might fall " in the name of the Father whose creatures the Scots have cruelly destroyed, in the name of the Son whose altars they have polluted, in the name of the Holy Ghost whose grace they have set at defiance. They all responded with a loud voice until even the mountains and hills re-echoed ' Amen.' "

The English left their horses at a distance, preferring rather to die than to fall into the hands of their cruel foes, and relied mainly on their armoured knights, their men-at-arms and the archers who were placed in the van. David wished to place in the front his mail-clad knights and archers, but the men of Galloway insisted on taking the first line. " I wear no armour," said their leader, " but no man with breastplate of mail shall go farther than I to-day," and casting aside their clothing they rushed naked against the enemy " with hideous howling." But the English arrows " flew like the densest rain." The Earl of Lothian was slain, the Galwegians, " covered with spines like hedgehogs," were broken. They fled

[1] Some authorities assign the speech to Walter l'Espec, others to the Bishop of Durham.

in terror, throwing their own rear into confusion. The disorder was increased by the rumour that the King was slain, and an Englishman held aloft a severed head which he said was David's. Prince Henry of Scotland fought valiantly and cut his way through the English host, but lack of support made his efforts useless. He retreated in good order " bitterly cursing the frowardness of fortune and the mishaps of that day's chance," and three days later he joined his father who had fled to Carlisle. The Scottish army was utterly routed, and those who escaped death or capture ran hither and thither like sheep. The battlefield was called Baggamoor, from the number of sacks or bags left by the Scots, who fled along Scots Pit Lane, in which the bones of many fugitives have been found. Ten or eleven thousand Scots perished in the battle or in the fierce pursuit, or were drowned in their attempt to cross the Tees. The bodies of the slain were " left unburied and were eaten by the birds of the air and the beasts of the field." Only nineteen Scottish knights escaped. Gilbert de Lacy was the only man of rank killed on the English side.

As a result of the victory the North Riding suffered little for many years from Scottish raids. William the Lion, who tried to help the rebel barons in 1174, was captured at Alnwick and imprisoned in Richmond Castle[1] in the reign of Henry II. The marriages of Henry III.'s sister and daughter to successive Scottish Kings tended to maintain peace between the kingdoms. Under Edward I.,[2] the Hammer of the Scots, the English and not the Scots were the invading force.

Edward I. died at Burgh-upon-Sands in 1307, leaving orders that his son was to carry on the war against Bruce. But under Edward II., the incompetent son of a brave father, England was distracted by civil war, and the Scots took advantage of the situation to renew their invasions.

BANNOCKBURN

Some of the English garrisons in Scotland held out for a time, and in 1309 Robert de Leyburn, the Constable of Ayr, successfully defended the town against Bruce ; but the latter gradually subdued Scotland. Early in 1314 the news came that Edinburgh Castle had been captured by some Scots who had climbed the steep north side of the Castle rock, and that Stirling, the only fortress still held by the English, was hard pressed. Although the Earl of Lancaster and others refused to serve in person, a large force was collected to raise the siege of Stirling. Edward II. commanded the English army, but proved utterly inefficient, and the Scots,

[1] Page 74. [2] Page 81.

led with great skill by Robert Bruce, inflicted a crushing defeat on the English at Bannockburn on June 23rd. Edmund de Mauley, son of Peter de Mauley III., the Seneschal of the English King was drowned as he was trying to escape[1]; the first Lord Stapleton, Henry de Percy of Topcliffe, and William de Vesci of Malton fell in the battle. William le Latimer II., of Danby, and the Earl of Richmond were two of the many prisoners taken by the Scottish King. King Edward rode off the field and did not dismount until he reached Dunbar, whence he sailed to Berwick. A few days later he arrived at York and lodged in the Archbishop's palace, near the Minster, until October.

The Scots followed up their victory by invading the North of England, and the County of York suffered greatly in the years that followed. "The northern parts of England were laid waste by the Scots for twelve years in succession."[2] In 1315 Cleveland was plundered, and the Vale of York ravaged by Scottish raiders, who burned Northallerton and wasted the country. Coverham Abbey in Wensleydale was sacked, and the invaders damaged Ellerton Nunnery in Swaledale, and carried away its records. In this raid the Scots ravaged the country so mercilessly that "loathed animals were eaten, children were hidden by their parents lest they should be eaten, and many ate human flesh."

In 1318 the Scots again invaded Yorkshire under the leadership of Sir James Douglas, "The Black Douglas." The Sheriff of York and Archbishop Melton raised a force of 5000 men, but they utterly failed to check the raiders. The men of Northallerton, who had not recovered from the previous raid, paid 1000 marks on condition that the town should be spared. Douglas took the money and burned the town, and the north transept of the Church still shows marks of the fire. The township of Leake, near Thirsk, was utterly destroyed, and has never revived; it is possible that many human bones which were found heaped together in a pit at Leake in 1852 were those of the victims of this raid.[3] Boroughbridge and the town of Scarborough were burnt, but Scarborough Castle successfully resisted the enemy. Ripon escaped destruction on payment of 1000 marks, and the Scots, laden with booty, returned home through Craven.

[1] "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. II., p. 331. [2] "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. II., p. 332.
[3] Grainger, "Vale of Mowbray," p. 250.

THE CHAPTER OF MYTON

In 1319 the English made a determined effort to break the power of Bruce. The King had made peace with the Earl of Lancaster, and it was hoped that all would unite to defend their country. Parliament met at York and voted supplies for the war. The local castle was repaired with oaks from the Forest of Galtres, and the sheriff was ordered to raise a special force to defend it. The King marched north with a large army, and besieged Berwick which Bruce had captured. Randolf, Earl of Moray, and the Black Douglas avoided the King and entered Yorkshire with an army of 15,000 men, hoping to seize Queen Isabella who was staying in a suburb of York. A spy revealed his design, and the Queen fled by water to Nottingham. Archbishop William de Melton manned the walls so strongly that the Scots feared to attack the city, and withdrew a short distance. One of their number rode up to Micklegate Bar, and in a loud voice accused the Queen of shameless immorality, and the Archbishop, enraged by the insult, most unwisely determined to offer battle.

The best soldiers were with the King at Berwick, but a disorderly rabble of 10,000 men was hastily collected. There were very few regular soldiers—one account gives the number as only fifty—and the mob included clergymen in their surplices, monks and canons in their robes, tradesmen, apprentices, even beggars and vagabonds. Very few had suitable arms, many had nothing but cudgels, and the clergy were unarmed. The Archbishop, John de Hotham, Bishop of Ely, and Sir Nicholas Fleming, who had been seven times Mayor, were the leaders, and it was justly said that they were "much fitter to pray for the success of a battle than to fight it." The battle took place on October 12th at Myton,[1] on the Swale. The Scots got to the windward, set on fire some haystacks, and the smoke was blown into the faces of the English. The invaders, who were drawn up in wedge formation, then charged, and cut the English army in two. The battle was decided in a few minutes, and the English were utterly routed with the loss of three thousand slain. The battle was called the White Battle, or Chapter, of Myton, from the number of white-robed priests who lay dead on the field, and for many years the stalls in the Cathedral were only half occupied. A thousand men were drowned in the Swale as they tried to escape. The Archbishop, the Bishop of Ely, the Abbot of St. Mary's and the Dean of York rode safely to York, but Fleming was killed. The news of the disaster brought the English army back from Berwick, but the Scots avoided them and made their way home by the Valley of the Aire, and across Stainmoor.

[1] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. VIII., p. 117; also Leadman's "Battles fought in Yorkshire," p. 26. Holinshed gives October 12th, The Chronicles de Melsa and de Bridlington give September 12th.

THE BATTLE OF BYLAND[1]

A truce of two years was made with Bruce, and further disputes between the King and the Earl of Lancaster divided the English forces. Lancaster was defeated at Boroughbridge in March, 1322, and soon afterwards executed at Pontefract. Edward then resolved on another attempt to break the power of Bruce and to avenge Bannockburn. A large army was collected, each village supplying one foot-soldier and the towns sending soldiers according to their population, with food for forty days. In August the English army invaded the Lowlands, but all the corn and cattle had been carried north of the Forth, and Edward, "for want of good foresight, was constrained by famine to return," after losing 10,000 men from famine and disease. A single black bull was said to be the only spoil that the English army gained, and Earl Warenne justly remarked that he had never seen dearer beef.

The Scots led by Robert Bruce followed in pursuit, "marching by night and by secret paths." The English army had halted on Blackhow Moor, near Rievaulx, and the King summoned all the foot and horse soldiers of Yorkshire to meet him there. Edward, who was staying probably at Byland, though possibly at Rievaulx as stated in the Peterborough Chronicle, was warned of the approach of the Scots, but "neglected the warning, minding more his own meat than the safety of his subjects or his own honour," and passed his time feasting and hunting. The Scots made their way south. They ravaged the eastern dales, and the nuns of Rosedale fled in terror before them. Sir Andrew de Harclay, Earl of Carlisle, collected a large army to aid the King, but failed to arrive in time. John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, marched towards Byland. Hearing that the Scots were near, he posted his men on a strong position, probably Oldstead Bank, a spur of the Hambledons between Byland and Rievaulx,[2] and here the battle was fought on October 14th, 1322.

The first attack of the enemy was repulsed owing to the skill of the English archers, and the huge stones the spearmen hurled on the Scots as they climbed the hill. But a detachment outmanœuvred the English under cover of a wood, and, falling on them from the rear near Scots' Corner, defeated them and captured their leader. Many fugitives fled to Byland, where Edward was dining with the Abbot. The Scots pursued them vigorously and the King, leaving all his treasure, mounted a swift horse and reached York in safety, although hard pressed by Walter the Steward with a picked body of five hundred men. The Scots plundered Byland and Rievaulx. They seized the crown jewels and the King's plate,

[1] Leadman, p. 64. [2] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. VIII., p. 475.

they stripped the monks of their garments and took the vestments and the holy vessels of the abbeys. They ravaged the country as far south as Beverley. Northallerton was again burned, but the Vale of Pickering was spared "from the River Seven on the west to the sea on the east" on promise of 300 marks, for payment of which the inhabitants gave three hostages. Harclay, whose army of 2000 men had occupied Boroughbridge, wasted the country, but made no attempt to attack the Scots, who returned to Scotland about a week after the battle, taking with them much spoil and many prisoners.

In some cases considerable difficulty was found in raising the ransoms of prisoners from the wasted country. The Earl of Richmond was "delivered up for a great ransom," and other nobles were redeemed "for sums untold." Edward II. himself paid £100 for the release of Sir Roger de Felton, who had been captured near Rievaulx,[1] and the Pickering hostages remained for some time prisoners in Scotland because the men of the Vale refused to pay the 300 marks they had promised, although the "townships, manors, hamlets, lands and houses of the said Vale within the bounds aforesaid were preserved from all damage and injury whatsoever through the aforementioned ransom."

Steps were taken to protect the country from future raids. "All defensible men" between the ages of sixteen and sixty were ordered to arm themselves according to their rank, and to go to York to help the King against the Scots. The Governors of York and Scarborough Castles received orders to strengthen their castles, and to provide "ample victual" for the garrison. Pickering Castle was strengthened with a new gate and drawbridge, and supplied with additional crossbars and bolts. Whitby and Scarborough were ordered to supply ships. Permission was given to the people of the northern counties to take their cattle to parts of Yorkshire "where they will be safe from incursions of the enemy," and to bring stores into walled towns and castles, "so that the enemy, if they invade the country, may not have any sustenance." The Constables of Royal Castles were ordered to admit any fugitives, and the keepers of the forests were bidden to allow them free pasture for their cattle.

But it was clear that the feeble King of England could not maintain his claim to the overlordship of Scotland, and Harclay made proposals for a peace with Bruce on condition of the recognition of his independence. Partly owing to his negotiations with Bruce, partly to his failure to attack the Scots after the Battle of Byland, Harclay was condemned "to be degraded, both himself and his heirs, from the rank of Earl, to be ungirt of his sword, his

[1] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. III., p. 225.

W. M. I'Anson.

See page 110.

NORTH EAST TOWER, KILTON CASTLE.

Yorkshire Archæological Journal.

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SKELTON CASTLE FROM THE N.N.W.

Showing the scarped promontory on which the feudal castle stood.

SKELTON CASTLE IN 1762.

From the frontispiece in John Hall Stephenson's "Crazy Tales," first edition, 1762.—British Museum, press matt., 840l, 18(2).

Yorkshire Archæological Journal.

gilded spurs hacked from his heels ; to be hanged, drawn and beheaded ; his heart and entrails torn out and burnt to ashes, and the ashes scattered to the winds, his carcase to be divided into four quarters." [1] This ferocious sentence was duly carried out at Carlisle on March 3rd, 1323.[2] Although Edward refused to acknowledge the royal title of Bruce, he was too weak to continue the war, and a truce for thirteen years, made in 1323, gave Bruce an opportunity of concluding in peace his life-work—the union of Scotland into one nation.

When Edward II. was murdered in 1327, the Scots broke the truce, and Parliament granted a tax of one twelfth of all moveable property to meet the expenses of a fresh campaign. A naval force was ordered to Skinningrove [3] to protect the Tees mouth, and all men capable of bearing arms were summoned to Northallerton.[4] But the Scots, by the rapidity of their movements, eluded the English forces, and Edward offered £100 a year to anyone who could tell him where they were. The reward was earned by Thomas de Rokeby, but no battle took place. Early in 1328 a treaty was arranged at York and confirmed by Parliament at Northampton, by which all claim of superiority over Scotland was withdrawn, and Robert Bruce was recognized as King. But the raids continued, especially in Teesdale ; Romaldkirk was wasted in the winter of 1340-1, and Mortham a few years later. Robert's successor, David, seeking to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the Hundred Years' War between England and France, invaded the North in 1346. Archbishop Zouche collected an army at Richmond. Henry de Percy, John de Mowbray, Ralph de Neville and many other local nobles joined the muster, and David was utterly routed at Neville's Cross in Durham, and brought a prisoner to Richmond Castle. From this time Yorkshire suffered little from Scottish raids.

EFFECTS OF SCOTTISH RAIDS

The invasions of the Scots had important effects. They greatly added to the importance of York, which was the bulwark that checked their advance into the heart of England. York was never captured by the Scots, and it became the most important rallying point of the Northern forces. In 1314, the Abbots of Rievaulx, Byland and St. Mary's met at York to consider the best means of defence against the Scots. Thirteen years later, Ralph de Bulmer of Wilton, Peter de Mauley of Mulgrave Castle, William de Thweng of Kilton Castle, and John de Fauconberg of Skelton Castle were ordered to take their followers to York to assist in repelling the

1 "Chron. de Melsa," Vol. II., p. 347. 2 Leadman, p. 54.
3 Brewster's "Stockton," p. 13. 4 Ingledew's "Northallerton," p. 44.

invasion. The Scots ruined for a time the prosperity of the Vale of York. Their raids partly explain the need for such strongholds as the great castles at Helmsley, Pickering, Scarborough, Richmond and Middleham, for lightly equipped marauding troops rarely carried siege trains with them, and walled towns and castles usually succeeded in resisting their attacks. They enable us to understand why Edward III. allowed Ralph de Bulmer of Wilton to turn his manor house at Wilton into a castle, and the Prior of Guisborough to fortify the priory walls. The Bishop of Durham built a palace at Northallerton out of the ruins of the castle which had been dismantled in Henry II.'s reign, but the palace was protected with a moat and rampart to withstand the marauding Scots. For the same reason South Otterington was surrounded by a moat, and a strong grange was built at Crayke to afford shelter to the cattle in time of need. Sir Geoffrey le Scrope of Masham received a licence to add battlements to his house at Clifton-upon-Ure in 1317, and to build a small castle at Constable Burton in 1328.[1] In some places strongly fortified church towers afforded a place of refuge from the Scots, especially at Bedale, Middleham and Thornton Watlass. Battlements were added to the church towers at Spennithorne in Wensleydale and Gilling in Ryedale.

The King's revenue was diminished. In 1319 Northallerton, Osmotherley, Sowerby, Brompton, and many places in Wensleydale were exempted from all taxation owing to the raid of the Black Douglas; Eleanor de Percy of Topcliffe and her tenants were also excused for the same reason. In 1323 the authorities of the Parish Church at Northallerton were allowed to solicit alms to rebuild their church. Guisborough Priory suffered greatly from the "heart-breaking plundering of Scots and freebooters," and the rating of its property was considerably reduced in 1328. Some five years later the canons, owing to their heavy losses, obtained special permission to sell some books of Canon Law which they no longer needed, and to use the proceeds to pay their debts. An enquiry in 1326 showed that some land in this district had lost four-fifths of its former value.

The business of government was seriously interrupted, owing to the absence of the chief men of the district who took a leading part in resisting the invaders. In 1322 the audit of accounts of Pickering Castle was delayed because the keeper, Thomas Ughtred, had been captured by the Scots.[2] The Eyre, or judicial examination of the Forest of Pickering was postponed in 1334 because many of the suitors or witnesses were fighting in Scotland.[3]

[1] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXV., p 280. [2] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. II., p. 24.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 23.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FOUNDATION OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES—I

WHITBY [1]

THE old Abbey of Streoneshalh had been utterly destroyed by the Danes. In the reign of William I. a new monastery was founded at Whitby by Reinfrid. After proving himself a very energetic soldier in the Conqueror's army, Reinfrid, although not a man of letters, had been received as a monk, or perhaps as a lay brother, into Evesham Abbey. In 1074 he accompanied Ealdwine, Prior of Winchcombe, and Aelfwine, a deacon, on a missionary tour in the North of England.[2] The Prior travelled with little state, and one ass carried his vestments, books and scanty luggage. At York Hugh FitzBaldric, the sheriff, supplied a guide and after visiting Newcastle and Jarrow, where Ealdwine remained as Prior of the monastery, Reinfrid made his way to "Streoneshalh, which is called Whitby," and found there a few monks living the life of hermits in the ruins of the Abbey, which consisted of about forty roofless and ruined cells.[3]

Reinfrid was pricked to the heart by the ruin and desolation at Whitby. He enlisted the sympathy of William de Percy, who held the land as a tenant of Hugh, Earl of Chester. Percy, with Alan his son, gave him the walls and empty altars of the ancient Abbey of St. Peter the Apostle, and Reinfrid refounded the monastery. His life of humility and charity afforded "an example of virtue and piety to all around, so that in a short time he collected a number of respectable men, who assumed the monastic habit as part of his brotherhood.[4]

Reinfrid became Prior of Whitby, and established the strict Benedictine rule. St. Benedict of Nursia had founded the Benedictine Order at the beginning of the sixth century. Silence,

[1] An interesting and admirably illustrated pamphlet on Whitby Abbey, by Peter Hood, is published by Messrs. Hood & Co., Ltd., Middlesbrough.

[2] "Simeon of Durham," Vol. I., p. 108. [3] "Whitby Chartulary," p. 2. [4] "Whitby Chartulary," p. 2.

humility and obedience were the three great virtues of his system. His disciples passed their time in the worship of God, study and manual labour. The Benedictines were required to abstain from the flesh of beasts, and were but rarely allowed to eat birds. Their usual food was broth, bread and a little wine; from September to Easter they had only one meal of eggs and fish every day. They were forbidden to eat outside the monastery, and it was a grievous sin for them to speak to a woman. They were expected to give themselves wholly to their order, and to sacrifice to it their love for father, mother, relatives and friends.

The new monastery was founded about 1078. Under the rule of Reinfrid the Priory received the town and harbour of Whitby, the Monastery of St. Peter at Whitby and the Churches of St. Mary and St. Peter at Hackness, the latter of which had belonged to the old Abbey of Streoneshalh. Among the monks was Stephen,[1] who tells us that "within a few days of his arrival" the monks gave him charge of the Priory. Stephen's ability and ambition made him one of the most influential of the monks, and Reinfrid probably resigned in his favour. But Reinfrid certainly was acting as Prior when he died, and Dr. Hamilton Thompson thinks that he may have been reinstated. He was killed by accident while watching some workmen repairing a bridge at Ormesbridge on the Derwent. A falling beam struck him on the head, and "his skull being fractured, he immediately expired. His little body was brought to Hackness and buried in the cemetery of St. Peter the Apostle, in the middle of the east wall opposite the altar."[2]

Serlo, brother of William de Percy, succeeded Reinfrid, and Stephen, disappointed in his hopes of becoming Prior, withdrew with some of the monks to Lastingham, where he became Abbot of the old monastery. In 1089 he was appointed the first Abbot of St. Mary's, York. In Serlo's time the Priory held in frankalmoin of William de Percy the townships of Whitby, Newsham and Hackness, and the harbour of Whitby, the Churches of St. Mary and St. Peter at Hackness, the tithes of the Churches at Wilton, Upleatham and Seamer.[3] Before 1090 the Priory had obtained also the hermitages of Eskdale and Mulgrave, much of Whitby Forest and valuable pasture land.

The Priory received its first royal charter from William the Conqueror:

> "William, King of the English, to all his faithful subjects, greeting: Know ye that I have given and by my Charter confirmed to the Church at Whitby, and to Serlo the Prior, and to the monks at that place for ever, all liberties and privileges over whatever

[1] For a full investigation of Stephen's story see "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., Chapter 2, and Farrer's "Early Yorkshire Charters," Vol. II., p. 198.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 32.

By Harold Hood, F.R.P.S.

WHITBY ABBEY. THE NAVE BEFORE EXCAVATING.

By kind permission of Messrs. Hood & Co., Middlesbrough.

Peter Hood.

See page 134.

WHITBY ABBEY. THE NAVE EXCAVATED, OCTOBER, 1922.

By kind permission of Messrs. Hood & Co., Middlesbrough.

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Peter Hood.

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WHITBY ABBEY.

A Norman apse in the north transept.

By kind permission of Messrs. Hood & Co., Middlesbrough.

Godfrey Bingley.

See page 130.

WEST FRONT, BYLAND ABBEY.

> land they have acquired or may acquire, as also over all their homagers wheresoever dwelling, as absolutely and freely as the royal power hath granted, or can grant them to any Church whatsoever. Also I grant and confirm to them and all their homagers wheresoever they go to buy or sell, an immunity from every tax, or toll or demand of Kings, Earls, Barons or Lords, whether made by themselves or their bailiffs. And I forbid, under penalty of my royal displeasure, all manner of persons from meddling with their lands, or with their men wherever they may be, or with their forests, or the wild beasts within their liberties, or with their waters in the port of Whitby or elsewhere, or with their other possessions, whether ecclesiastical or lay, or with anything belonging to the Church of Whitby, except the monks themselves and such bailiffs or servants as they provide. Witness William de Percy."[1]

William Rufus confirmed his father's grants, and gave to Whitby Abbey the Church of All Saints in Fishergate, York, "that there the monks of the said Church may serve God and pray for him and his heirs."[2]

But Serlo's task was difficult. "Robbers and plunderers came by day and night" from their lurking places in the forest and "laid waste the holy place."[3] The Priory suffered much from pirates who "had compassion upon none," and compelled the brethren to retire for twelve months to the little monastery they built on land William de Percy had given them at Hackness.

Before 1096 a serious dispute had arisen between the two brothers. The facts are obscure.[4] According to one account William wished to resume "all the lands and townships he had given to the Monastery at Whitby," and to give some of them to his faithful armour-bearer Ralph of Everley.[5] Serlo, who had been "the friend and most loving companion of Rufus when they were young soldiers at the court of William his father," appealed to William II., and received from the King seven hundred and twenty acres of domain land at Hackness and elsewhere. Canon Atkinson questioned the accuracy of this statement. He maintained that this grant was made by the Conqueror and not by his son, and found a sufficient explanation of the quarrel in William de Percy's attempt to make his son, William, Prior in Serlo's place. The attempt was successful. Serlo left Whitby, retired to Hackness, and soon became Prior of All Saints', York. His nephew succeeded him as Prior of Whitby, and, in a short time, the Priory of Whitby became an Abbey, and William attained the higher dignity of an Abbot. His father, delighted at the success of his schemes, gave the Abbey a new and more liberal charter, and in 1096 set out for the Holy Land, where he died two years later.

1 "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 147.
2 Farrer's "Early Yorkshire Charters," Vol. II., p. 207.
3 "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., Introduction, p. xxxviii.
4 "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. LIX. 5 Near Hackness.

The Abbey was now firmly established. In the early part of Henry I.'s reign Abbot William gave to the King his forest of Whitby, with all the stags, hinds and wild boars ; but if, as seems probable, this was the payment made for the confirmation of previous charters and the recognition of the Abbey, the price was not excessive. The generosity of great landowners enriched the Abbey with valuable gifts, and before Abbot William died, the whole of Whitby Strand, measuring some seventeen miles in length and from six to seven in breadth, had passed into the possession of the Abbey. The hermits of Goathland desired to " be invested with the habit of religion in the Chapter of the monks," and surrendered their lands and rights of pasturage and timber. About 1120 Robert de Brus, with Agnes his wife, and Adam their son, granted to the Abbey of Whitby the Church of St. Hilda the Abbess at Middlesbrough, with two hundred and seventy acres, on condition that they should send monks " to serve God and St. Hilda in the Church at Middlesbrough ; " the monks were " largely and sufficiently " to live upon the stipend thereof, and the surplus was to go to the mother Church at Whitby.[1] About 1143 Adam of Ingleby gave the Churches of Ingleby Greenhow and Kirby-in-Cleveland " for the salvation of my soul and the souls of my father and my ancestors," [2] and this was only one of many similar grants in frankalmoin.

Some of the great wealth of the Abbey was worthily employed in the erection of the noble building, much of which still stands, magnificent in its ruins. Reinfrid had been content to repair the ruins of the old Abbey, but Serlo and his successors added to the monastic buildings. The excavations now in progress have resulted in the discovery of some early Norman work. Beneath the later transepts and choir, five apses, which formed the eastern termination of a Norman Church, have been found. In one of the apses lies a quantity of black, burnt matter, which may be the result of a raid made by the King of Norway, who " laid waste everything both within doors and without " about the middle of the twelfth century.[3]

Abbot Roger, formerly a monk of Middlesbrough, governed the Abbey from 1223-1244, and the beautiful Early English Choir, with its lancet windows and characteristic dog-tooth moulding, was built under his direction. The two transepts and the eastern part of the nave were added by Abbot John de Steyngrave (1245-1258), but their richer ornamentation shows that, although they were built in the same style, they were later than the choir. The north transept is the richest and most beautiful part of the building. The rest of the nave and the west front were built in the Decorated style during the first half of the fourteenth century, and to Abbot

[1] " Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 95. [2] " Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 79.
[3] " Whitby Abbey," by Peter Hood, Messrs. Hood and Co., Ltd., Middlesbrough p. 36.

Thomas de Hawsker, who resigned in 1355, is due the honour of finishing the work that Roger had commenced.

SMALLER BENEDICTINE HOUSES

In 1078 Stephen restored the old Monastic House of Lastingham, which he had found in ruins, and remained there for ten years. On his removal to St. Mary's Abbey at York, Lastingham ceased to be a monastery, and the church Stephen had built was used as the Parish Church. A small Benedictine Cell, dedicated to St. Martin, and dependent upon St. Mary's Abbey, was established at Richmond by Wymar, steward of Stephen, Count of Richmond, about 1100, and in 1147 this little house was the scene of the election of an Archbishop of York in succession to St. William. Feeling ran so high that an election at York would probably have led to an outbreak, but the quiet countryside was not disturbed.[1]

Grosmont Priory was founded by Joan, wife of William Fossard, about 1200. It was an alien Priory depending on the French Priory of Grandmont or Grammont, after which it was called. Richard II. allowed the Prior to sell the advowson to an Englishman, and by 1394 all the brethren "were of the English nation." Grosmont therefore became an English house, and escaped the general fate of alien Priories, the property of which was confiscated by Henry V. The Grandimontanes followed a strict interpretation of the Benedictine rule, but in the constitution of their houses, like the Carthusians, they were associations of hermit clerks.[2]

Five small Benedictine Nunneries[3] were founded in the North Riding. About 1133, William de Percy of Dunsley, a grandson of William aux Gernons,[4] built a Benedictine[5] Nunnery at Handale or Grendale, near Loftus. Some thirty years later another, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was built at Yeddingham. About 1150 Arden Nunnery, near Hawnby, was founded by Peter de Hutton, whose successors proved generous friends to the house. An old chimney, now forming part of Arden Hall, a herb garden, where once was the nuns' cemetery, and the Nuns' Well, which still supplies excellent water, remain to remind us of the nunnery that once flourished in this secluded spot. Marrick Priory was founded by Robert de Aske about 1150 in a beautiful situation on the north bank of the Swale.

1 "Simeon of Durham," Vol. II., p. 320.
2 Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson.
3 For Moxby see page 148.
4 Page 251.
5 "The Vict. County Hist.," Vol. III. p. 165 includes this among the Cistercian Houses.

THE CISTERCIAN ABBEYS

The character of many of the Benedictine Abbeys had changed by the end of the eleventh century. The generous gifts of pious benefactors had made them wealthy, and wealth too often brought evil in its train. The vow of poverty had become an empty formula ; obedience to superiors was often forgotten. Evil living became too common a mark of the followers of St. Benedict, whose rule was rarely, if ever, strictly observed. New orders were therefore formed to carry out the old ideals.

The Cistercians, the most famous of the new orders, owed their origin to a monk Robert, who, in 1075, founded a small convent at Molesme in Burgundy, where he might " keep more closely and perfectly the rule of the most blessed Benedict which (the Benedictine monks) held in lukewarm and careless fashion." In 1098 Robert and the strictest of his monks removed to the Abbey of Cîteaux, on the borders of Champagne, and the Abbey gave its name to the new order. The famous St. Bernard was for a time Abbot of Cîteaux, and, on his departure for Clairvaux, Stephen Harding, an Englishmen, became Abbot, and to him the organisation of the new order[1] was due.

Self-renunciation was the leading principle of the Cistercians. They lived on the plainest food, and wore the coarsest garments of linen or fustian. They refused to use gold and silver, even for the adornment of their churches, which they built in simple style " in places remote from the intercourse of men." The towers of their churches were to be built of wood and not of stone, and only plain glass was to be used in the windows. Manual labour was strictly enjoined, but, in order that the monks might have time for prayer, the agricultural work, for which the Cistercians were famous, was carried on largely by " conversi " or lay brethren.

The Benedictine Abbeys enjoyed a large measure of independence, but were subject to visitation by the Archbishop. The Cistercian Abbeys, though not liable to visitation by the Metropolitan, were united in subjection to the supreme authority of the Abbot of Cîteaux. On September 14th, Holy Cross Day, a general chapter was held at Cîteaux, and in 1119 the " Charter of Charity," which Harding had drawn up, was accepted as the constitution of the order.

[1] *Y.A.J.* Vol. XV., p. 245.

RIEVAULX

The new order rapidly extended its influence, and in 1128 St. Bernard of Clairvaux sent some of his monks to Rievaulx. They "were honourably received by both king and kingdom." Archbishop Thurstan commended them to Walter l'Espec, and he "about 1131, allotted to them a solitary place in Blakemoor, near Helmsley, surrounded by steep hills and covered with wood and bog." [1] Walter l'Espec was childless, and the grant he made was due to the natural goodness of his heart and not, as has been stated, to a desire to raise a memorial to his only son who had been killed by a fall from his horse.[2]

In a "place of vast solitude and horror" [3] the monks built the Abbey of Rievaulx, which took its name from the little River Rye on which it stood. Three dates are given for the year of its foundation, but 1131, the date of l'Espec's original donation, is generally accepted in preference to 1132 and 1133, which some authorities favour.

Rievaulx was the first Cistercian house founded in Yorkshire, and its buildings conformed to the type prescribed by the Charter of Charity. The Gothic style of architecture, which the Cistercians did much to popularise, was generally adopted, and owing to the nature of the site the church was built north and south instead of east and west as usual. The lower part of the east transept, with its Norman arches and rough masonry, offers a strong contrast to the pointed arches and finer workmanship of the upper portion, and the rough dog-tooth ornament of the west transept shows that this is a very early example of Early English work. The aisles of the chancel and the triforium, with its beautiful quatre-foil ornamentation, prove that this part of the church was of later date than the transepts, and it cannot have been finished before 1240. Five altars were erected along the north wall of the chancel, and traces of the pin-holes to which the reredoses were fastened may still be seen.[4] The remains of the nave, which had long been covered with ten feet of soil, were uncovered in 1920, and found to consist of nine bays, each carrying a pointed barrel vault. The nave was probably completed by 1140, and was paved with glazed tiles. It contained four chapels in the North Aisle, and two in the South. The altars of the chapels seem to have escaped the ravages of Henry VIII.'s officials, and several were found in a nearly perfect condition. Two, which were built of solid masonry, contained recesses

[1] "Dugdale," Vol. V., p. 274. [2] "Rievaulx Chartulary," Vol. XI.
[3] "William of Newburgh," Vol. I., p. 14; see also "Walter of Hemingburgh," Vol. I., p. 71.
[4] For details of excavation see C. R. Peers, *The Antiquaries' Journal*, Vol. I., No. 4, pp. 171-182.

in which Mr. Peers found leaden relic holders. The larger, which was six inches high, contained an earthenware pot half filled with a mixture of "charcoal, wood dust and sand, with a bit of stone and a few very small portions of human vertebræ." The dust found in the smaller may be the "remains of human bone, mixed with remains of a coffin."[1] The cloisters which, with the domestic buildings, stood to the south of the church, contain some Norman work, and were built in the last quarter of the twelfth century; the beautiful refectory is Early English, and lies at right angles, and not parallel to the cloister, as in Benedictine Monasteries. Rievaulx, like every Cistercian house, was a double monastery, and separate accommodation was provided for the lay brethren on whom devolved most of the manual labour of the Abbey.

The monks lived in rough wooden shelters while the nave and other earlier portions of the building were being constructed, but the work went on apace, and they soon found better quarters. The stone required was brought from two quarries in the immediate neighbourhood, and carried in barges or on rafts along two canals dug for the purpose. The Rye was dammed up to ensure a sufficient depth of water, and a pool of considerable extent was made close to the Abbey walls.[2] The banks on the far side of the stream were strengthened to hold in the water.

Espec's original grant consisted of nine carucates, about a thousand acres,[3] and to this he added Bilsdale in 1145. His great nephew Everard de Ros gave the southern portion of the township of Helmsley "for the safety of the soul of Walter l'Espec, the founder of the same Church, and of Robert de Ros, my father, and Sibilla, my mother, and for the safety of my soul and the souls of my wife and all my heirs and relatives."[4] Roger de Mowbray of Thirsk confirmed the grant of Farndale and Bransdale made by his mother Gundreda, and added thereto much land in Welburn[5]; King Henry II. gave a portion of the waste land in the royal domain of Pickering. The names of members of most of the local families, such as the Bulmers, Lascelles, Ingelrams of Ingelby Arncliffe and Stutevilles, appear in the list of benefactors. Within fifty years of its foundation the Abbey had received about 6000 acres.

The piety of the Cistercians gained for them a great reputation and they became a "mighty nation." New Abbeys were built, and with every new foundation the Abbot of Rievaulx, the head of the Cistercians in England, became more important, for to his decision were submitted important questions affecting the welfare of the order. When the monks of Furness claimed jurisdiction over the Abbey of Byland, on the ground that the monks who founded

[1] *The Antiquaries' Journal*, Vol. I., No. 4, p. 281.
[2] "Rievaulx Chartulary," pp. lxvi.-lxxiii.
[3] "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 16.
[4] "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 23.
[5] "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 31.

it had come from a monastery dependent on Furness, the case was referred to Abbot Aelred of Rievaulx, and he decided that Byland was an independent Abbey.

Rievaulx soon became a mother Abbey. In 1136, on the invitation of David I., some monks went from Rievaulx to found the great Abbey of Melrose. Six years later others journeyed into Lincolnshire and founded Revesby Abbey. As early as 1134 Olaf, King of Man, offered to Rievaulx land at Rushen as a site for an Abbey for the Isle of Man, but the monks were too busy building their own Abbey to accept his offer; they later refused Walter de Ghent's request to build a new Abbey at Stainton in Swaledale. It is evident that, although at first a poor foundation, Rievaulx rapidly gained great influence.

BYLAND

In 1137,[1] Gerald, the Abbot of Calder, and twelve of his monks were driven out of their Abbey by the Scots. A single wagon drawn by eight oxen carried all the property they had been able to save. They fled south to Furness, expecting to find shelter in the Abbey from which their own had been founded. The monks of Furness refused to admit them, and they made their way into Yorkshire, hoping to win the sympathy of Archbishop Thurstan. They reached Thirsk, where lived Gundreda the Bountiful, the mother of Roger de Mowbray. "And when the said lady in an upper chamber had peeped secretly through a certain window and seen their poverty, for very piety and pity she melted into tears. Yet was she glad at their coming and edified at their simple aspect and bearing. So she made them all stay with her, and ministered to them abundantly all things needful, forbidding them to depart."

In 1138 Gundreda gave the wanderers a settlement at Hood, under the Hambledon Hills, where her uncle, Robert d'Aulnay,[2] formerly a monk at Whitby, was living a hermit life. The place was poor, but the bountiful Lady of Thirsk gave food and raiment, and the little company flourished. Roger de Mowbray gave them a tithe of all supplies provided for Thirsk Castle, but this arrangement did not prove satisfactory, so he gave the monks instead a cow pasture at Crambe with other land, and this gift ensured the scanty supply of plain food that their humble needs required. The Abbot of Furness, who had refused them help in time of need, tried to assert his supremacy in the hour of prosperity. Gerald journeyed to

[1] The Register of Byland Abbey has been lost, but much of the information it contained was incorporated in Dugdale's "Monasticon Anglicanum," 1655-1673, the fifth volume of which is our main authority for the early history of the Abbey; see also "William of Newburgh," Vol. I., p. 15.

[2] Or, as now spelled, Dawnay.

France, and, in a Chapter at Savigny in 1142, secured exemption from obedience to Furness. On his way home he died at York, and was succeeded by Roger.

The new Abbot had been sub-cellarer at Calder, and was acting as Master of the Novices at Hood. He "had only one novice under him at the time, to whom he was speaking, when suddenly, and without warning, all the monks surrounded him and bore him in their arms to the high altar of the oratory, proclaiming him as their Abbot with a loud voice in the name of the Holy Trinity." [1] The new Abbot thoroughly justified his appointment, and held office for fifty-four years at Hood, Old Byland, Stocking and Byland. Under his guidance the Abbey, hitherto poor, became great and powerful. It came safely through the evil days of Stephen, and flourished exceedingly under the "great King" Henry II.[2]

Hood afforded no suitable site for a final settlement for the growing community, and in 1143 the monks migrated to the township of Byland-on-the-Moor, which Roger de Mowbray granted to them. The grant amounted to about 700 acres, and at Old Byland, as the hamlet is now called, a small monastic cell was built. This soon became a mother church, for in 1146 Archbishop Henry Murdac of York gave the monks permission to build a chapel at Scawton, "owing to the divers perils and fatigue which the parishioners underwent in coming from Scawton to Byland." Archbishop Roger ordered that "there should be conveyed in a wain the lesser bell of the said mother church of Byland to the said daughter church of Scawton." New difficulties arose owing to the proximity of Rievaulx, which lay on the other bank of the Rye, only two miles away. "At every hour of the day and night the one convent could hear the bells of the other. This," says the old chronicler, "was unseemly, and could not in any way long be borne."

The removal of "the lesser bell" did not meet the difficulty, and in 1147 their faithful friend Roger de Mowbray gave the monks two hundred and forty acres of waste at Stocking, near Coxwold, and Thomas de Colville gave land to the north of Coxwold "to do therewith whatsoever they would for ever." At Stocking they built a small stone church, a cloister and other premises. Here they remained for thirty years.

The monks found that their growing wealth aroused envy. Robert Deyville of Kilburn, Hugh de Malbisse of Scawton, and Guy de Boltby harassed the monks; but Roger de Mowbray proved a strong protector, and compelled their envious neighbours to allow them to hold their property in peace.

The Abbot of Furness, casting longing eyes at the wealth of the new house, in 1150 advanced a claim to supremacy over the

[1] Dugdale, Vol. V., p. 352. [2] "William of Newburgh," Vol. I., p. 44.

monks at Stocking. The Abbot asserted that Gerald and his companions had left Calder without permission of the mother house at Furness. The other side pointed out that the question had been settled in 1142, and that Furness had lost all authority by its refusal to succour the fugitives in 1137. The question was again referred to a Chapter at Savigny, the mother Abbey of Furness. The Chapter appointed Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx, to judge the case, and by his decision in favour of the Yorkshire monastery, its independence of Calder and Furness was finally established.

On the eve of All Saints' Day, October 30th, 1177, the monks moved from Stocking to Byland, "Bella Landa nostra," as William of Newburgh calls it, and their forty years of wandering came to an end.

Byland was one of the largest original Cistercian Churches in England, its total length being 328 feet 6 inches. The chancel, the earliest part, was probably completed in 1177, and we find no Norman work as in the transepts at Rievaulx. The church shows evidence that the simplicity which marked the earliest Cistercian work was giving place to more ornate design. The pointed Gothic arch was used for the first time for decoration as well as for construction. The triforium, rarely found in early Cistercian churches, adds to the beauty of the structure. The transepts are adorned with western aisles; the "piers and arches of the ground storey were carried round the whole structure," and the church gained in beauty from the uniformity of its design.

Byland Abbey had long suffered from neglect. Ivy spread over the building; on one wall a substantial tree, not less than two hundred years old, had grown; and eight, and in some places twelve, feet of debris covered the lower portion of the ruins. In 1922 the work of excavation was undertaken by Mr. C. R. Peers, who found portions of the original tesselated pavement in the lady chapel, presbytery and two small chapels in the south transept. The pavement in the transept consisted of tiles arranged "in diamond patterns and in circular interlacing designs, some being in concentric rings of varied colours, mostly blue and yellow, with the centre yellow tile fitted in." [1]

JERVAULX

Akaris FitzBardulf, an early member of the family which afterwards assumed the name of Fitz Hugh, gave land for a monastery at Fors, near Askrigg, to Peter de Quincy, a monk of Savigny, "of great skill and experience in the art of healing." [2] Count Alan the Black of Richmond confirmed his kinsman's grant, and gave the

[1] *The Yorkshire Post*, October 22nd, 1923.
[2] Dugdale, "Monasticon," Vol. I., p. 869, 1st Edition.

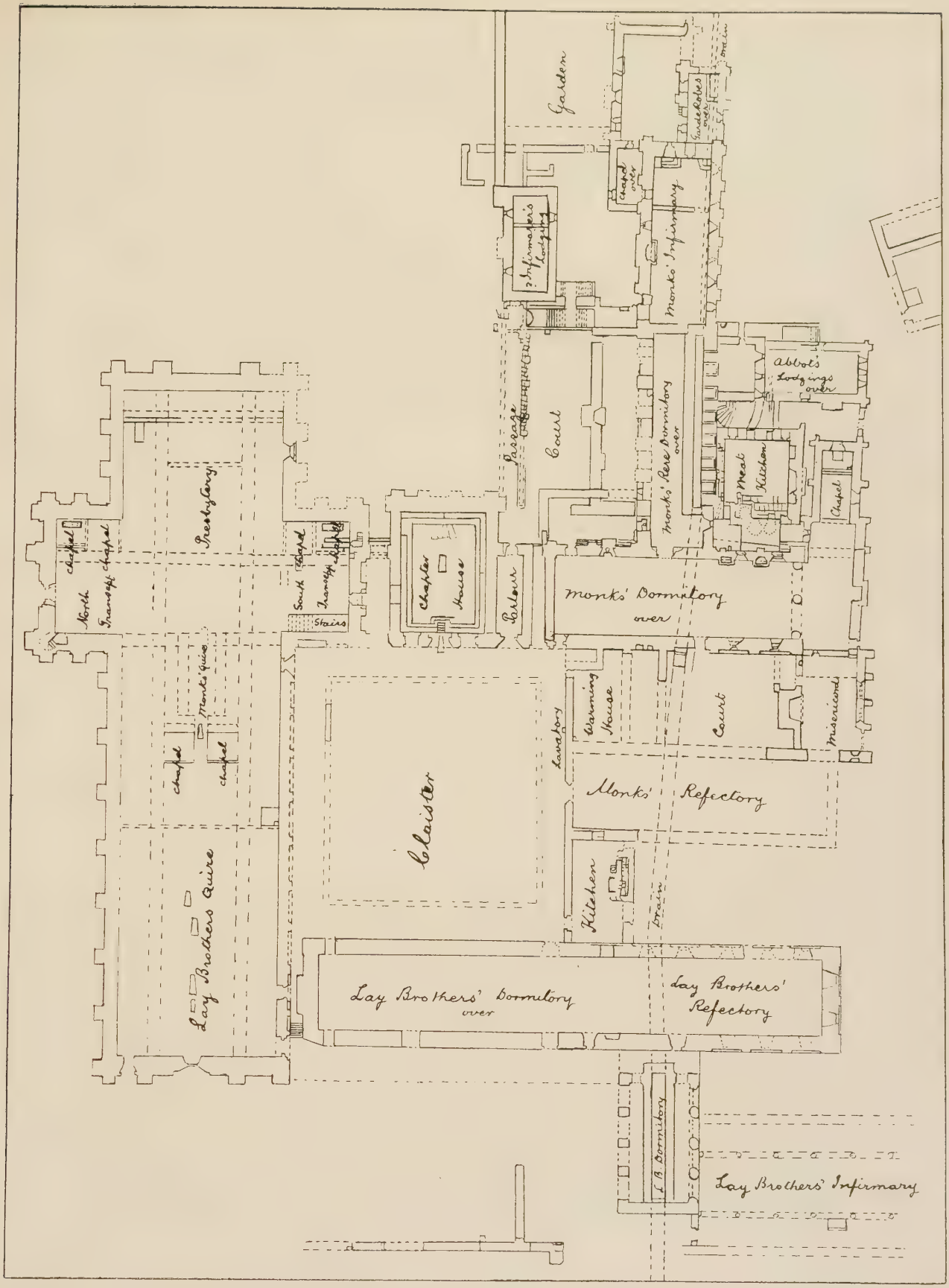
monks the right of pasturage in Wensley forest, and permission to take any building material they needed. "So they set up the first wooden house in the place of the oratory in the year of our Lord 1145." Thus at Fors was founded the Abbey of Jervaulx.

But Peter and his companions found their task too difficult. Wensleydale was a wild and savage country; the soil was stony and barren, and the climate unhealthy; robbers stole the property of the monks and wolves carried off their cattle. The Abbot of Savigny refused to send help because he remembered the dangers, toil and hardships his monks had endured who had been sent into different parts of England, but Roger, the famous Abbot of Byland, was sympathetic. The monastery was placed under the authority of Byland, and the better bell of the church at Old Byland was given as a present to Fors.[1] But little progress was made. Roger was obliged to send supplies of food to Fors, and the monks would gladly have returned to Byland, but feared that the brethren would point the finger of scorn at them and say "these monks began to build and could not finish their work." The cellarer crossed over to Brittany, and with tears told Count Alan of the sad state of the Abbot and monks.

At a council at Byland, "Abbot Roger appointed John of Kinstan, Abbot of Fors." When he was nominated all immediately stood up and, raising him from the ground in their arms, carried him to the high altar, saying "Thou art the Abbot of Jervaulx."[2] John left Byland with twelve monks, and at Fors was received with great respect by Akaris FitzBardulf and other nobles who promised to help him. He appointed Peter de Quincy cellarer, and spent four years in great toil and hardship. Conan, Alan's son, gave the monks an excellent site in the parish of East Witton; in 1156 they left their poor land at Fors to settle in their new home, which was always known as Jervaulx, from its situation in the valley of the Ure. They brought with them the bones of their original founder, Fitz Bardulf, and these they buried in the Abbey Church.

A number of lay-brethren started building at Jervaulx before the Abbot left Fors, and the lay-brethren's quarters, consisting of parlour, cellar, refectory and dormitory, were completed before 1156. The kitchen, refectory, warming house and dormitory of the monks, the original chapter house, the wall of the south transept and part of the south wall of the nave were built soon after, around the cloister garth. A temporary church was used for services until the great church of the Abbey was completed early in the thirteenth century. Infirmaries for monks and lay-brethren were added soon afterwards, and in the fourteenth century the Abbot's lodging and private chapel were constructed. The latest additions were

[1] Dugdale, "Monasticon," Vol. I., p. 873, 1st Edition. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 873.



See page 143.

JERVAULX ABBEY. GENERAL PLAN.

W. St. J. Hope.

Yorkshire Archæological Journal.

[To face page 142.

Godfrey Bingley.

See page 143.

CLOISTER COURT, JERVAULX ABBEY.

Godfrey Bingley.

See page 150.

EGGLESTON ABBEY.

a new meat kitchen and a misericord where, as a special favour, the monks were allowed to eat meat which was never provided in the refectory.

The ruins at Jervaulx give an excellent idea of the general arrangement of a great Cistercian Abbey.[1] All the buildings, including the stables, were enclosed within a wall or dyke, and entrance was gained through two gateways of which the inner, which contained the porter's lodge, was the more important. It led into a courtyard in which the guest-chambers, stables, bakehouse and other buildings were situated. East of this courtyard was the cloister, which may be called the heart of the monastery. Around it were placed the most important buildings arranged in the following order, the church, chapter house, parlour, dormitory and rere-dormitory, warming house, refectory, kitchen and cellarer's building. Every Sunday each of these was visited in its proper order by the monks in procession and sprinkled with holy water. Every day the monks assembled in the chapter house, listened to the reading of extracts from the lives of saints or martyrs, and the rule of St. Benedict, confessed their offences and received punishment. In the parlour the monks were allowed to talk if absolutely necessary. The monks' dormitory was an upper room having a wide passage down the middle with cubicles on each side. It had two staircases, one by which the monks entered the church for matins, the other leading into the cloister. In the winter months fire was kindled in the warming house, and this was the only fire at which the monks could warm themselves. Next came the refectory, or "frater," connected with the kitchen by a serving hatch. At Rievaulx the remains of the lectorium or reading pulpit, which was a necessary part of every refectory, still remain. The steps from it lead not into the dining hall, but into an undercroft or cellar, and the monk whose turn it was to read, after finishing the portion for the day, descended "where he could not be seen," and thus obeyed the instructions of the Charter of Charity. The brethren sat on seats placed along the side walls with tables in front. The high table, at which the Abbot and distinguished guests took their meals, was placed at the end opposite the entrance. The Charter of Charity carefully prescribed the behaviour that was to be observed during meals. No monk was to leave the room during the meal, nor to walk about while eating. He was not to wash his cup with his fingers, but he might wipe it if he liked. He might not wipe his hands or his knife on the table cloth, unless he had first cleaned them on his bread. He was to help himself to salt with his knife, and when he drank he was to hold his cup with both his hands as a sign of humility.

[1] For full details see *Y.A.J.* Vol. XXI., p. 303.

The infirmary sheltered the sick, the infirm and the aged who had been monks for fifty years. At Rievaulx the infirmary consisted of a great hall, and, probably, a chapel. At Jervaulx "the infirmary was of an unusual type, being a two storied building, with a chapel on the north side and garderobes at the east end," [1] and was connected with the cloister by a gallery. A special kitchen was always provided for the infirmary. Originally the infirmary hall was shared in common, but at the end of the fourteenth century separate rooms were provided for the inmates. In the early, and stricter, days of the Cistercian Order the Abbot slept in the monks' dormitory, but at the end of the thirteenth century separate quarters were provided for him at Kirkstall, and the example was generally followed. At Jervaulx he had his own parlour, bedroom and chapel. The cellarium extended along the west side of the cloister and furnished accommodation for the lay brethren; near it was their infirmary.

Careful provision was made for the drainage of the Cistercian Abbeys. At Jervaulx the necessary water was drawn from high ground near the Abbey, and carried right through the Abbey in the main sewer. This was an arched tunnel connected with the rere-dormitories of the monks and lay brethren, the refectory, the kitchen and the infirmary. "After it passes the infirmary garden, it is continued eastwards as an open ditch for over three-quarters of a mile" to its junction with the River Ure.

SMALLER CISTERCIAN HOUSES

About 1130, Robert de Stuteville founded the nunnery of Keldholm, within sight of his castle at Kirby Moorside, and sixty years later another Robert de Stuteville founded Rosedale Priory. Payn Fitz Osbert founded a nunnery at Wykeham in 1153, and Ralph de Neville one of the same order at Hutton Low Cross, near Guisborough, about 1162. This was afterwards transferred to the neighbouring village of Thorpe, the name of which was changed to Nunthorpe in honour of its new inhabitants. Before the end of the century the nunnery was moved to Basedale, and enriched by a grant from Guy de Bovincourt of 1200 acres in Westerdale, Stokesley and Battersby. Ellerton Nunnery was situated a mile below Marrick, on the opposite bank of the Swale, and, like Marrick, was beautiful in situation. Its founder was possibly Warner, the steward of the Earl of Richmond, or his son Wymar of Aske, but no definite statement is possible, as very little is known of the history of the nunnery. It was "one of the humblest of all monastic foundations." [2]

[1] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXI., p. 325.
[2] Whitaker, "History of Richmondshire," Vol. I., p. 316.

The Benedictine and Cistercian Nunneries were all small, and seem to have had some twelve inmates in addition to the Prioress. Very few remains of the conventual buildings are left; at Keldholm only a cross built into the wall of a modern house; at Rosedale a part of the turret stair; at Basedale the old bridge; at Ellerton the ruins of the convent church. Their history is similar in many ways to that of the larger houses. They received grants of land, rights of pasture and other gifts from pious benefactors. Rosedale and Ellerton, like Rievaulx and Byland, were pillaged by the Scots; Wykeham, like Guisborough, was partly destroyed by fire.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FOUNDATION OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES—II

THE CANONS REGULAR

The Augustinians or Black Canons

ST. AUGUSTINE, Bishop of Hippo, in North Africa, held a leading position among Churchmen at the beginning of the fifth century. His "Confessions" served as a manual of devotion to thousands of earnest Christians. His "City of God" successfully maintained the cause of Christianity against the arguments of the most learned Pagans. He asserted that divine grace could be secured only through the clergy, and that mankind, born sinful through Adam's fall, must find salvation through the rites and ceremonies which the clergy alone could perform. In 417 Pope Innocent I. formally accepted his teaching as the doctrine of the Roman Church.

Although St. Augustine and his clerks at Hippo lived in community, the canonical system was not introduced until the time of St. Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz,[1] who established the common life in his cathedral body. The Rule of St. Augustine dates from the tenth century, but the order of Canons Regular of St. Augustine did not actually come into existence until 1059.[2]

The reaction against the evils which had crept into the Benedictine Monasteries had, as we have seen, led to the foundation of the Cistercian Order. It caused also a revival of the Augustinian system, and in the reign of Henry I., 1100-1135, fifty houses of the order were founded in England.

Unlike the secular canons, the Canons of St. Augustine, or the Black Canons, were compelled to renounce their private property, and to take monastic vows. They often served a Parish Church, and, if the Priory Church was not used for worship by the parishioners, the Parish Church was usually found close to the Priory. But it often happened that when a number of canons served one church they formed themselves into a monastic community, bound them-

[1] Died 766. [2] Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson.

selves by the vows of chastity, poverty and obedience and lived in a religious house which was called a Priory. The Augustinians were called Regular Canons because they followed the Regula, or Rule, of St. Augustine, and the head of the house was called a Prior in Yorkshire, although the term Abbot was used in some other parts of England.

GUISBOROUGH PRIORY

Guisborough, the most important Augustinian Priory in Yorkshire, was founded by Robert de Brus. There is some doubt as to the date of the foundation, but it must have taken place during the Papacy of Calixtus II., 1119-1124, as that Pope confirmed Brus' action. The Priory was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and the foundation probably took place on the Feast of The Assumption, September 8th, 1119. Walter of Hemingburgh gives 1129[1] as the date, but the discrepancy may be reconciled if we take this as the date, not of the original foundation, but of the second charter by which Brus confirmed and extended the rights and privileges he had already granted to the Priory.[2]

The first church was Norman, but of this no portions remain. The second was built in the Early English style, between 1230 and 1250, and this was burned on May 16th, 1289. On that day a "vile plumber" with two assistants had climbed on to the roof to strengthen the old lead with new solder. The fire necessary for the work was kindled in iron ladles, which were placed on the dry wood of the roof. The plumber worked until after Mass and then descended, ordering his assistants to put out the fire, but they carelessly left the coal smouldering. A strong wind blew it into a flame, and scattered the fire over the roof. The wood caught fire, the lead was melted, the wooden cross beams were ignited, and then "the fire waxed greatly and burned everything." The building, vestments, sacred vessels, images and manuscripts were utterly destroyed. "And when the offenders, who had fled, were questioned, they could say nothing but 'What could I do?'"[3]

The third church was commenced about 1309. In that year Archbishop Greenfield of York gave a remission of forty days' penance to those who contributed to the cost of restoration, and a similar indulgence was granted by Bishop Kellawe of Durham two years later. The ruins of the former church were utilised by the builders. The bases of some of the piers and fragments of dog-tooth ornament evidently belonged to the Early English building, but the new work was in the Decorated style.

[1] "Chronicle of Walter of Hemingburgh," Vol. I., p. 52.
[2] "Guisborough Chartulary" Vol. I., p. 11. [3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 353-357.

Robert de Brus endowed the Priory with a most generous grant of land. His gift included "all Guisborough, with all things pertaining to it," all Kirkleatham and Coatham, the churches of Marske, Skelton, Danby, Upleatham, Stainton and Levington.[1] During his lifetime he gave the Priory at least two thousand acres of cultivated land, about eight thousand acres of common and moor, and ten churches. His descendants added to these grants, and the possessions of the Priory were increased by estates at Castle Eden and Hull, and in Lincolnshire and Annandale. At the Dissolution of the Monasteries, Fountains, St. Mary's, York, and Selby were the only monastic houses in Yorkshire that were richer than Guisborough.

OTHER AUGUSTINIAN PRIORIES

Kirkham in the East Riding, Marton and Newburgh Priories belonged to the same order as Guisborough. Kirkham was founded about 1130 by Walter l'Espec, who gave it endowments worth 1300 marks a year, and the right of presentation to five livings. William, Rector of Garton, the uncle of the founder, became the first Prior.

The Augustinian Priory of Marton-on-the-Forest[2] was founded in the reign of Stephen by Bertram de Bulmer, whose family took its name from the Wapentake of Bulmer. The Priory at first included both monks and nuns, but after a time it was divided, and a new house was built for the nuns at Moxby, some two miles away, and here the Benedictine Rule was adopted. A neighbouring farm is still called the Abbey Mill, and in its walls may be seen stones from the Priory bearing the sacred monogram and a Latin inscription.

Newburgh Priory was founded in honour of the Virgin Mary in 1145 by Roger de Mowbray, who was a most generous benefactor of religious houses. Although small, it received valuable endowments in addition to the generous gifts of Mowbray. The Lascelles family took an interest in the Priory, and Thomas de Lascelles granted it a third part of the township of Sowerby, with the moorland pertaining thereto.

THE PREMONSTRATENSIANS

The second order of Regular Canons was that of the Premonstratensians. The Premonstratensians derived their name from Prémontré in France, where Norbert, in 1119, established a great monastery to which all the houses of the order were made sub-

[1] "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 3. [2] Of Galtres.

Godfrey Bingley.

STATUES AND CARVING, COVERHAM ABBEY.

Presbytery. S. Transept. S. Arcade of Nave. N. Transept.

See page 149.

COVERHAM ABBEY.

(From Dugdale's *Monasticon.*)

Yorkshire Archæological Journal.

[To face page 148.

Godfrey Bingley

See page 152.

CELL AT MOUNT GRACE PRIORY.

Showing food Hatch and Scrope Arms.

Godfrey Bingley.

See page 149.

EASBY ABBEY.

ordinate. The habit of the canons was entirely white, and is traditionally said to have been designed by the Virgin Mary. They used white cattle and painted their carts the same colour. The White Canons had three houses in the North Riding, at Easby, Coverham and Eggleston.

EASBY

St. Agatha's Abbey at Easby was founded in 1152 by Roald, the Constable of Richmond,[1] but in the reign of Edward II. it came under the patronage of the Scropes of Bolton, several of whom were buried in the Abbey Church. The inscriptions on some of their tombs supplied important evidence in the famous suit brought by Richard, first Lord Scrope of Bolton, against Sir Robert Grosvenor, which lasted from 1385-1390. Scrope claimed for his family the sole right to bear the arms "Azure, a bend or" which Grosvenor had assumed, and called John, Abbot of St Agatha's, Easby, as one of his witnesses. The Abbot testified that Richard's father, Henry, who had died in 1336, "lies in the Abbey in a part of the Church buried under high stones, and upon the stone is a knight graven of stone and painted with those same arms—azure, a bend or." The evidence of the Abbot materially helped to secure the verdict for the patron of his Abbey, and the family of Scrope of Bolton still bears the arms in question. The Duke of Westminster, a descendant of Sir Robert Grosvenor, gave the name of Bend Or to his famous racehorse which won the Derby in 1880.

COVERHAM[2]

About the year 1189, Helewise, daughter of Ralph de Glanvil, and widow of Robert FitzRalph, the builder of the keep at Middleham Castle, founded a house of White Canons at Swainby on the Swale. She died in 1195, and was buried in the Priory. Her son, Ranulph FitzRobert, transferred the Priory to Coverham in 1212. The bones of Helewise were dug up and buried in the new chapter house at Coverham, and Ranulph's body was interred in the founder's place of honour in the presbytery in 1251. Some fragments of the church, some interesting religious and military figures are all that remain of this old Abbey. Its history was uneventful, save for the partial destruction of the original buildings by the Scots early in the fourteenth century. Much of the Abbey was rebuilt about 1330, probably owing to the generosity of Sir Geoffrey le Scrope of Masham,

[1] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. IX., p. 117.
[2] "Coverham Abbey," I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXV., p. 273.

who died in 1340, and was buried in the Abbey he had served so well. Towards the end of the fifteenth century so much building went on that the Abbey seemed to be founded anew.

EGGLESTON

Eggleston Abbey[1] was probably founded by Ralph de Multon, who lived at the end of the twelfth century and not, as Camden and Speed stated, by Conan, Earl of Richmond. The Abbey buildings suffered greatly at the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and in later times much of the stonework was used to pave the stable-yard at Rokeby Hall. Portions of the walls of the church remain to-day, and within the walls are a number of tombstones, one bearing the inscription "T. Rokeby, Bastard. Jesu for Thy passions sair, Have mercy on thy sinful heir." Little is known of the history of the house. Six canons were sent from Eggleston to sing Mass in the chapel which John, Earl of Richmond, built in 1274 in honour of his wife Beatrice, the sister of King Edward I., but we know of nothing else worth recording except the utter poverty of the Abbey. The cost of entertaining guests was heavy, the Abbey lands were barren, the canons were plundered by the Scots, and suffered even more from the presence of an English army which halted at Eggleston in its march against the Scots, and in its short visit consumed all the hay, corn, provisions and stores which had been gathered to supply the Abbey for a whole year. The Abbey could not pay for the proper celebration of divine service, and there was a danger that the canons would have to beg their bread. The grant of the revenues of churches at Startforth, Rokeby and Great Ouseburn, near Boroughbridge, helped to improve matters, but chill penury prevented Eggleston from playing a great part in local history.

THE CARTHUSIANS

The desire for a purer religious life, which led to the foundation of the Cistercian Order, and to the revival of the Rule of St. Augustine, induced St. Bruno of Cologne to withdraw from Rheims, where he had charge of the Chapter School, and to found, about 1084, amid the rugged mountains of Dauphiné, the famous Monastery of La Grande Chartreuse, from which the Carthusian monks took their name.

St. Bruno tried to save the souls of his followers by rigid self-denial and strict isolation from the world. "The Carthusians," said Peter, Abbot of Cluny, "do not consider the Kingdom of

[1] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XVIII., p. 129.

God as consisting principally in meats and drinks, in garments and labour and the like, although these, wisely managed, may do that Kingdom of God good service, but in that godliness of which the Apostle says 'Godliness is profitable to all things, having the promise of the life which now is and of that which is to come.'" The practice of the order was cruel in its severity. The brethren wore next to the skin a hair shirt so rough that it often tore away flesh and skin. The Monasteries were built in remote places, and the monks, unlike those of other communities, lived in isolation, each in his separate cell.

The number of Carthusian houses in England never exceeded nine, and for many years the Priories of Witham and Hinton in Somersetshire stood alone. In the fourteenth century the order, in spite of its severity, became popular. Between 1344 and 1414 seven other houses were founded, among them the Charterhouse in London, founded in 1371 by Sir Walter Manny, one of the most famous of Edward III.'s knights, and "the House of Mount Grace of Ingleby."

MOUNT GRACE PRIORY

Mount Grace[1] was founded by Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey, in the honour of the Virgin and St. Nicholas. Surrey was the nephew of Richard II., and had won the King's favour by assisting him in the misgovernment and tyranny of his later years. In 1397 Richard granted him a licence to found the Priory in his Manor of Bordalby. It was endowed with the lands of the Manor, which were worth ten marks a year. The King gave to Mount Grace the lands of the Priories of Hinckley in Leicestershire, Wareham in Dorsetshire and Carisbrooke, which were alien Priories, depending not on an English Monastery, but on the Abbey of St. Mary's at Lyre in Normandy, and this grant was to last as long as the war continued between England and France.

To-day Mount Grace lies far from the busy haunts of men. The nearest station is four miles away, the nearest main road half a mile. When the Priory was founded, the site was even more secluded, and the brethren seemed far removed from the world they feared. The rule of St. Bruno was strictly observed. Each monk had a cell of two storeys, measuring twenty-two feet square. The ground floor contained two rooms, in one of which was a fireplace. The upper storey had two rooms, and a wooden staircase gave access from below. Each cell had its own little garden, about twenty-three feet long, which was separated from those on either side by high walls. A door opened on to the cloister, around which

[1] Mount Grace Priory, W. Brown, M.A., *Y.A.J.* Vol. XVIII., p. 241.

most of the cells were built, but food was handed in through a rectangular opening in the outer wall, so contrived as to prevent intercourse with those outside. The monks spent ten hours a day in their cells, and the time was devoted to meals, sleep, reading and meditation. The first offices of the day were sung in the cell at 6 a.m. The monks were required to keep strict silence, and met in private only by permission of the Prior. If they met in the cloister they drew their cowls over their faces and passed without a word. On Sunday the monks dined together in the refectory; one day a week they were allowed to go outside the Priory for two or three hours, and on these occasions, and for an hour and a half on feast days, conversation was allowed.

Only two meals were taken during the day, one at 10 a.m. and the second at 4-30 p.m. No meat was allowed, even for the sick, and poultry and game were forbidden. Bread, eggs, and fish caught in the Priory fishponds, were the staple food, and were carried from the kitchen to each cell at meal times. Water was the only drink allowed.

The Priory Church was far smaller than those of Guisborough, Whitby and Rievaulx. The small number of the monks, and the fact that strangers were rarely admitted, made a large building quite unnecessary. There were no aisles, and the choir in which the monks sat was larger than the nave. The service was simple. Gregorian chants were sung without any accompaniment, and processions formed no part of the service.

The Priory consisted of two courts enclosed by a high wall. Fourteen cells were built round the cloister court, in which facilities for washing were provided. The outer court contained five cells, the church, chapter house, refectory, kitchens and the Prior's house. The Priory had neither a common dormitory nor an infirmary, as each monk slept in his own cell, and there received medical attention in time of sickness.

The Duke of Surrey did not live to complete the Priory. He rebelled against Henry IV., and was beheaded in the market place at Cirencester in 1400.

For a time Mount Grace was under a cloud, but the Lancastrian Kings proved friendly, and the fortunes of the house revived. Henry IV. confiscated the incomes of alien Priories, including Wareham. To compensate them for the loss of revenue, he gave the monks of Mount Grace £100 a year, and a tun of the better red Gascon wine, which, in spite of the rules of their order, they readily accepted. In 1421 Henry V. gave them the alien Priories of Long Bennington, Hough-on-the-Hill and Minting in Lincolnshire, and Field Dalling in Norfolk. In 1440, Henry VI. confirmed the charter of foundation; the buildings were now completed, and the Priory was at last firmly established.

THE GILBERTINES

The only English monastic order was that founded in 1131, by St. Gilbert of Sempringham, in Lincolnshire, and called after the name of its founder. In some cases the Gilbertine houses comprised both men and women, but no communication was allowed between the sexes, and the women followed the Rule of the Cistercians, the men that of St. Augustine. Malton Priory was a Carmelite house.

MALTON

Malton Priory was founded by Eustace FitzJohn in 1150 as a single house for canons and lay brothers. The Church was built originally in Late Norman style, and a beautiful Norman doorway, with zigzag and beakhead mouldings, still stands at the north east angle. The west front dates from 1180-1210, and the main entrance is adorned with five orders of mouldings. It had originally two towers, of which the south one still remains. Perpendicular work was added later, and the original building was altered accordingly. The three lowest windows of the west front were replaced by Perpendicular work, which offers a striking contrast to the Early English dog-tooth ornament which has been cut on the original outer frame. One of the Early English pillars was remodelled by later builders, and is covered with the stone panelling which formed one of the features of Perpendicular architecture. The Priory had very few shrines or relics, and the monks were forbidden by their founder to raise money for building purposes by itinerant preaching.

The Priory accounts show that the canons were successful sheep masters, and that much of their profits was used to buy additional land. But the finances of the Priory were badly managed, and money was borrowed from the Jews to meet deficits. Agnes de Vesci and the townsfolk plundered the canons, who, between 1243 and 1257, had to spend £94 14s. 3d. in bribes to win the goodwill of the sheriffs and bailiffs of Pickering Forest.[1]

THE FRIARS

Dissatisfaction with the luxury of the monks, which had led to the foundation of the Cistercian Order in the twelfth century, was an important cause of the establishment of the Mendicant Friars in the thirteenth.

[1] "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. III., p. 253.

THE FRANCISCANS

St. Francis of Assisi, the son of a well-to-do cloth merchant, at the beginning of the thirteenth century renounced his friends and fortune. "The Poor Man of Assisi" took Poverty as his bride, and devoted himself to the service of the poor and the sick. He did not, like the monks, renounce the world, but sent into the world the followers whom his goodness attracted, bidding them sell all they had and give to the poor. The early Franciscans, who were called the Grey Friars from the colour of their gowns, cared nothing for wealth, worldly power or learning, but gained great influence over the poor of the towns by their devotion and by the skill with which they taught the lessons of the New Testament.

The Franciscans appeared in England about 1220, and within a few years built one of their chief houses in Castle Gate, York. They there entertained Edward II. in 1319, soon after the Chapter of Myton, and the King kept the great seal by the head of his bed during his stay in the convent. Here, too, in 1322, the same king held Parliament after the defeat of Lancaster at Boroughbridge. In May, 1327, Edward III. held a Court there, and more than five hundred knights attended to do him honour. In 1335 Edward III. stayed in the Convent, and orders were given for the repair of the "well by the door of the Kitchen for the King's refreshment when he shall stay there." It is obvious that the wealthy Grey Friars of York had not wedded Poverty like their founder.

The Franciscans came to Scarborough in 1239, but the Cistercians, to whom the Church of St. Mary belonged, opposed their settlement in the town, and the question was referred to Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. The Friars surrendered their buildings and left the town, but in 1245, Henry III. allowed them to build in the neighbourhood, and about twenty years later they settled in the town on a site which is now occupied by the Friarage Council School. Their Church is said to have been built of lead, because the Monks of Meaux, who owed them a hundred marks, being unable to pay in cash, satisfied their creditors by handing over, in payment, the lead from the roof of their dormitory,[1] which was used in building the Friary Church.

Ralph FitzRanulf, the son of that Ranulf FitzRobert who transferred Swainby Priory to Coverham, founded in 1258 a Franciscan House at Richmond. The beautiful tower of the convent is still standing outside the walls of the town.

[1] "Chronicle de Melsa," Vol. II., p. 237.

DOMINICANS

The Dominicans, or Black Friars, were founded shortly after the Franciscans by Dominic de Guzman, a Spanish noble. In 1220 Dominic accepted the doctrine of Poverty which Francis taught, and bade his disciples adopt a mendicant life. Their eloquent sermons gained for them the name of the Preaching Friars, and in 1291 they preached the Crusade in Scarborough, Pickering and Whitby.

The Dominicans built a convent on Toft Green in the City of York, and when the Provincial Chapters of the Order met at York in 1256, Henry III. ordered the sheriff to allow the Dominicans to have six pike out of the royal fishpond for the entertainment of their distinguished visitors. In 1300 they received generous gifts from Edward I. as a thank offering for their earnest prayers on behalf of his second wife, Margaret of France, in her hour of need. Their thanksgiving for the birth of Prince Thomas, surnamed of Brotherton from the place of his birth, was made more sincere by the King's gifts. "Friar's Entry" at Scarborough reminds us of the Dominican House which was founded about 1252, and endowed by Peter de Brus II.

CARMELITES

The first community of the Carmelites, or White Friars, was founded in 1219 on Mount Carmel by a Patriarch of Jerusalem. The early Carmelites lived a hermit's life, but later they, too, became mendicants, although they had many religious houses. Their life was marked by great austerity. Every friar had a separate cell and slept at night in his coffin. Each morning he dug a shovelful of earth from his grave. The brethren ate together in the refectory, and were forbidden to taste flesh except when sick. An exception, apparently, was made in the case of the dumplings they carried with them on their journeys, which contained a little meat. Within the Friary the friars were required to keep silence from Compline until Prime, but later in the day moderate conversation was allowed.

The Carmelites settled in Scarborough in 1320, and built a convent and church on land granted to them by King Edward II. or Edward III., and now occupied by Queen Street Wesleyan Chapel. About 1354 Bishop Hatfield of Durham founded a Carmelite Convent between Brompton and Northallerton.[1] The Carmelite House in Farndale was founded by Thomas, Lord Wake, in 1348.

[1] Ingledew's "Northallerton," p. 238.

CRUTCHED FRIARS

The Crutched Friars, or Friars of the Holy Cross, were so called from the cross they wore sewn on to their clothes. About 1312 some men entered the North Riding in the dress of Mendicant Friars. They pretended to be members of this order, and began to build a monastery in the park of Arnold de Percy at Kildale. Here they celebrated Mass and offered daily prayers. In 1312 Archbishop Greenfield forbade them to remain in his diocese because they had not received authority to conduct services from him.

THE HOSPITALLERS AND TEMPLARS

The Crusades had led to the establishment of these famous semi-military, semi-monastic orders. The Knights of the Temple, founded in 1119, protected pilgrims on their perilous journey to the Holy Sepulchre. The Order of Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, was founded in 1130. They took their name from the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem, and gave poor pilgrims medical help in time of sickness. Both of these bodies were religious, and the knights frequently took minor orders as deacons. Both established themselves in the North Riding.

The Hospitallers' Preceptory was founded by William de Percy on Mount St. John at Feliskirk, near Thirsk, in the reign of Henry II., and was liberally endowed with land by the founder, Robert de Ros, Roger de Mowbray, Odo of Boltby, and others. Here the brethren maintained their Chaplain and entertained wayfarers, for whose guidance a bell was rung every night.

The Knights Templars established ten Preceptories in Yorkshire. One was founded in the wilds of Westerdale, and owed much to the generosity of local nobles, especially of Roger de Mowbray, whom the brethren in Palestine had ransomed from the Turks. The Templars held land in Broughton, Kirby-in-Cleveland, Wilton, Kirkdale, and Ingleby Greenhow, which brought in a revenue of £35 0s. 2d. in 1307; these lands were held in free alms, and were therefore exempt from the usual feudal services. Mowbray gave them the Castle Mills at York, which were worth twelve marks a year. Henry III. ordered that the city ditch, on which the mills stood, should be cleared of the mud which prevented the flow of water necessary to turn the mills. He gave the Templars oaks from the Forest of Galtres to repair the mills, and granted a piece of land in the neighbourhood.

About 1140 Stephen gave Stainton Dale, near Scarborough, to the Templars, who were to offer daily prayer for the Kings of England. "And as it was a desert place, they were to entertain

poor travellers and to provide themselves with a good sounding bell and horn, and they were bound to ring the bell and blow the horn in the twilight of every evening to give notice to the bewildered passenger whither he ought to repair, and to meet him with honourable lodging and entertainment."

An important Preceptory of the Templars was established on Penhill, in Wensleydale, about the middle of the twelfth century. Roger de Mowbray of Thirsk gave the brethren permission to take wood from his forest in Nidderdale to build their house, which was dedicated to God, the Virgin Mary and St. Catherine. Very little is left of the buildings, but the outlines of the small chapel may be traced and the sill of the door still bears the marks made by the feet of brethren and pilgrims in far distant days. The Preceptory received many grants of land and held much property in Wensleydale.

The Templars left the Holy Land after the final victory of the Turks at the end of the thirteenth century, and returned to live on their rich estates in England. The reputation they had gained by their chivalry in Palestine was tarnished by their luxury and evil living at home.

In 1309 the Templars of the North, including John de Bellerby, the Preceptor of Penhill, were arrested and committed to the custody of the Constable of York Castle. In 1310 they were tried for blasphemy, and John de Eure of Ingleby Greenhow, Sheriff of Yorkshire, gave evidence against William de la Fenne, Preceptor of Westerdale. He said that his wife had found in a book belonging to the Preceptor some heretical statements about Christ and the Christian Faith. The owner, when questioned, said that the author "was a great ribald," but refused to give up the book.[1] One of the brethren from Penhill confessed that he had spat upon the cross. This and similar evidence is said to have contributed to the condemnation of the Templars, and there is no doubt that they had fallen from their high ideals. A critic told Richard I. that at home he had three daughters, Pride, Luxury and Avarice, whom he loved better than the grace of God. "They are no longer at home," answered the King, "I have married my daughter Pride to the Templars, Luxury to the Benedictines, and Avarice to the Cistercians."

Twenty-five of the brethren were sentenced at York to excommunication and imprisonment for two years, and the names of Stephen, Preceptor of Westerdale; Michael of Sowerby; John de Bellerby, Preceptor of Penhill; and Thomas of Thirsk appear among the number. The sentence of excommunication was soon remitted by the Archbishop of York, and the King allowed every Templar fourpence a day out of their property, which was confiscated and granted to the Hospitallers.

[1] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. X., p. 432.

HOSPITALS

Hospitals were frequently founded in the Middle Ages for the benefit of the sick and the relief of the poor. They were religious foundations, dedicated to some saint, and often connected with a religious house—with the Priories at Guisborough, Malton, and Healaugh in the West Riding, and the Abbeys of Whitby and Easby. The names of Brus, Percy and Neville appear in the list of founders, but the good work was not confined to the nobles: Robert Moore, a draper, founded the Maison Dieu at Northallerton, and the townsfolk established at least two hospitals in Scarborough.

Twenty-five hospitals have been traced in the North Riding. Every town possessed at least one; Scarborough had six, Malton three, Northallerton and Whitby two, and they were sometimes found in country districts. The hospital at Rey Cross relieved the wants of travellers passing over bleak Stainmoor; lepers were carefully tended at Hutton Low Cross in Cleveland; other hospitals were established at Crayke and Bagby.

The inmates might be men or women, and the number varied. The hospital at Well had twenty-four, in addition to the Master and two Priests.

St. Nicholas' Hospital at Yarm was probably founded before 1220 by Alan de Wilton, a sub-tenant of Peter de Brus I. He gave an endowment of three hundred and sixty acres at Hutton Rudby, "for the safety of my soul and of my father, mother, brothers, sisters, ancestors and descendants; and for the safety of the soul of Lord Walter de Gray, by the grace of God, Archbishop of York, and for the soul of Lord Peter de Brus and his wife Joanna, and for the safety of the soul of William, son of Peter." Some fields at Yarm called the Spital Flats remind us of this old hospital.

The Hospital of St. James[1] at Northallerton was founded either by Hugh de Puiset, Bishop of Durham, or King Richard I. Its endowment included the churches at Thornton-le-Street and North Otterington, and land in Ellerbeck and Romanby. The Maison Dieu at Northallerton was founded by Robert Moore in 1476, for thirteen poor people of either sex who were to pray for the souls of the founder and his relatives, for all benefactors of the hospital and for all the faithful who had departed this life. The inmates were to recite fifteen Paternosters and as many Ave Marias twice each day, to receive twenty shillings a year to buy sea coal, and to provide beds for two poor travellers for one night only.[2] There were two hospitals at Scarborough dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr, and founded by the burgesses in the reign of Henry II.

[1] Ingledew's "History of Northallerton," p. 251. [2] *Ibid.*

They gave shelter to both men and women, and were under the rule of St. Augustine. A hospital at Pickering was dedicated to St. Nicholas.

The hospital founded by William de Bernalby at Hutton Low Cross, near Guisborough, was one of the many leper hospitals which were built in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Leprosy had been brought into England from the East, possibly by the Crusaders, and claimed many victims. Lepers were forbidden to associate with other men. When they walked abroad they shrouded their faces and rang a bell to give warning of their approach. In course of time the disease disappeared, but the leper hospitals were only too necessary at the time of their foundation. The one at Hutton Low Cross came under the authority of the Prior of Guisborough, and was managed by the Almoner. Its inmates included women as well as men, healthy as well as leprous people, and a church was built at the hospital for the benefit of the residents.[1]

[1] "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 187.

CHAPTER XV

THE LIFE AND WORK OF THE MONKS

MONASTIC OFFICIALS

THE work of the religious houses was carried out by a large number of officials, some spiritual and some lay. The head of an Abbey was the Abbot, so called because he was expected to be father of the brethren. The Prior was the head of a Priory, but in an Abbey the Claustral Prior came next in rank to the Abbot. To the Claustral Prior fell the task of maintaining discipline, and he had the assistance of one or more Sub-Priors.

The Precentor made all arrangements for the Church services, and acted as deputy for any unmusical Abbot who could not intone. He trained the choir, and in some cases taught the choir boys to read, but was forbidden to slap their heads or pull their hair. He acted as librarian, and supplied pens, ink and parchment for the writers of manuscript. Coverham Abbey enjoyed a special reputation for the excellence of its singing.

The Sacristan had charge of the church plate, vestments, and holy vessels. He was responsible for the lighting of the whole establishment. He was assisted by Sub-Sacrists, the Vestiarius who looked after vestments, the Treasurer who kept the plate and sacred vessels, and the Master of Works who maintained the fabric and supervised the erection of new buildings.

The Cellarer was primarily responsible for the food supply, and supervised the outlying granges, where corn was stored, the mills and fishponds. He directed the work of the servants, and generally managed such business as did not fall to the lot of some special official. The importance of the Cellarer is shown by the fact that on the resignation of Abbot Benedict in 1148, the monks of Whitby sent Martin the Cellarer with Walter the Prior as a deputation to invite Richard, Prior of Peterborough, to accept the vacant post. The Cellarers did not always escape a charge of embezzlement. In 1275 a complaint was made that the Cellarer of Newburgh " trafficks in horses, and hath a rough tongue."

The Refectorian saw that meals were properly served in the refectory, that table linen was clean, that the floor was strewn with straw and rushes.

The Kitchener directed the kitchen staff, but sometimes, as at Whitby, the Abbot had a private cook. This arrangement was due to the fact that Benedictine, though not Cistercian, Abbots had their own establishments separate from the monastery, and retained their private property instead of holding it in common with the brethren.

The Infirmarius looked after the sick and infirm; as a preventive measure he bled the sound four times a year. Apparently lay doctors were sometimes consulted, not always with success. In 1433 the Prior of Guisborough and Brother Richard, his Canon, brought an action against Mathew Rutherford of York, "Leche," for his careless treatment of the Canon's left leg, which, they asserted, had become corrupt "to the damage of the Prior and Richard of £40." The "Leche" pleaded that his patient, in defiance of his orders, had insisted on eating unwholesome food, and that he had thrown away his medicine.

The wardrobe of the brethren was in the care of the Chamberlain, who superintended washing and repairs. He was responsible for the lavatory, which was placed in the cloister, and saw that the barber did his duty.

The Guest Master saw to the comfort of visitors, and the Almoner dispensed the bounty of the house. The Master of the Novices taught probationers in the cloister, and the Steward acted as legal agent of the house.

Minor officials and servants included bailiffs, foresters, bakers, brewers, huntsmen, swine-herds and many others. The accounts of Whitby Abbey for 1294-5 give information as to the wages of the Abbey servants for one year. The brewer and fishermen received 23s., the largest amount paid; the miller 13s. 4d., the barber 10s., the hunter 6s. 8d., and the poulterer 5s. Three cooks are specified: the Abbey cook was paid 5s., the common cook 6s. 8d., but the Abbot's cook 20s.[1]

The nature of their duties secured for officials exemptions from the strict observance of their rule. The Cellarer and Refectorian were excused from choir duty. If High Mass, which came before dinner, was unduly prolonged, the Kitchener could leave the church before the end of the service to bid the cooks delay the dinner. Except at regular hours, conversation was forbidden in the infirmary, but the Infirmarius was allowed to speak to patients about their ailments when necessary.

[1] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. II., p. 610.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

"Religious" men were so called from *religio*, the bond that bound them together in the Service of God. The "opus Dei" was their first concern. "What," asks William of Newburgh, "are such religious dwellings but the camps of God, where the soldiers of Christ, our King, keep guard, and the recruits are trained against the assaults of spiritual wickedness?"

Eight services were supposed to be held every day at intervals of about three hours, but there was considerable variation from the regular order. The monks rose at 2 a.m. for Matins. Lauds followed at daybreak, and Prime was sung at six o'clock. At nine, the third hour, came Tierce. At noon, the sixth hour, the monks assembled for Sext, and three hours later for Nones. Vespers, or the Evening Service, was taken at six o'clock, and Compline at eight was a short service to give thanks for the completion of the day's work. Low Mass was often celebrated at the hour of Prime, and at Tierce High Mass was sometimes sung. A special communion service was held on Mondays and Thursdays and on Christmas Day, Easter Day and Whit Sunday.

The exact hour at which the daily service was held varied according to the seasons. The Cistercians divided the day into twelve hours of light and twelve of darkness, and the hours varied in length from fifty to seventy minutes, according to the amount of daylight. The interval between the services was shorter in winter than in summer; Lauds were taken later and Compline an hour earlier. After Compline the Abbot sprinkled the monks with holy water and they retired to their dormitory. The offices were usually sung in the Abbey Church, but during Lent and autumn, when the labour of agriculture was heavy, Sext and Nones could be celebrated in the fields where the monks were working.

The Carthusians recited the first office of the day in their cells, but all attended Conventual High Mass in the Priory Church at 7 o'clock. About 11 p.m. they were roused by an officer called the Excitator for a night office at 11-45.

The Augustinian Canons who conducted service in the Parish Church adjoining their Priory were excused attendance at the Priory when necessary.

Special services included "Obits," held on the anniversary of the death of a benefactor, and the ceremonies which attended the death of one of the brethren. In Cistercian Monasteries a board of hard wood was beaten with two hammers as a sign of the approach of death. The dying monk was taken out of his bed and placed on a cross of ashes on the floor. All the brethren assembled in solemn silence, and the Abbot in their presence administered the last sacrament.

VISITATIONS

Many of the religious houses were subject to the authority of the Archbishop of York, but the Cistercians and Premonstratensians had a system of mutual visitation of Abbeys, and were exempt from episcopal visitation. Coverham Abbey was visited by Bishop Redman, Abbot of the Premonstratensian house of Shap, from 1459 to 1468, and the record of his visitations gives a good account of the inner life of the Abbey.[1] The Archbishop conducted his visitations sometimes in person, often through commissioners, who might be the heads of neighbouring houses. Opposition was occasionally offered to the Archbishop's visitations by Benedictines and Augustinians, but they were compelled to accept his authority.[2]

In the middle of the thirteenth century Archbishop Walter Giffard deputed the Prior of Guisborough to visit the Convent of Basedale, and on his behalf to examine and correct abuses. The report of a visitation of Guisborough Priory by the Archbishop reveals some of the faults of the monks. They were ordered to observe the rule of St. Augustine more strictly. They were forbidden to go out of the Priory after Compline " for the sake of drinking," or by a pretence of illness to gain admission to the infirmary ; all members of the choir were to join in the singing ; silence was to be observed in the cloister ; no presents were to be accepted without the Prior's permission ; the canons were bidden to listen to edifying discourses rather than improper tales.[3] At Coverham, in 1478, a visitor condemned one of the canons for immorality, acquitted two others, complained that the vow of silence was not strictly observed, and " prohibited the use of skull caps and potations in the dormitory." [4]

Most of the reports disclose breaches of the vow of chastity, and Prioresses of Arden and Marrick appear among the offenders. Friction sometimes arose between the heads of houses and their subordinates ; at Keldholm there was such discord in the early years of the fourteenth century that Abbot Greenfield found great difficulty in restoring order ; the Prioress of Yeddingham was ordered " to mingle oil with wine " in administering discipline.[5] Maladministration and carelessness often impaired the financial position of the religious houses ; a Prioress of Arden neglected to keep the Priory buildings in good repair, and pawned some vestments and the convent seal. The nuns of Wykeham and Yeddingham were forbidden to wear conspicuous habits and girdles ; those of Arden and Rosedale were not to allow dogs to enter the nunnery, in the first case because of the cost of their keep,[6] in the second because

[1] I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXV., p. 281. [2] Page 180.
[3] " Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. II., Introd., p. xiv.
[4] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXV., p. 284. [5] " Dugdale," Vol. VI.
[6] " Yorks. Arch. Reg.," Greenfield, Vol. I., p. 86, b.

puppies interfered with the Church service. The Canons of Eggleston were not to go into Barnard Castle without special permission, or to carry long knives; the Canons of Newburgh were forbidden to hunt.

DISCIPLINE

Punishment for faults revealed during a visitation would be inflicted by the visitor, but questions of ordinary discipline were considered at a meeting of the monks held daily in the chapter house after Prime. The meeting began with a commemoration of the saint of the day, followed by the reading of a part of the Rule of St. Benedict. Then came the arrangement of the day's work, and after this cases of misconduct were investigated. Offenders guilty of minor offences, such as talking, were flogged in the presence of the chapter, deprived of food, save bread and water, or required to say additional prayers. For more serious offences, theft, murder, perjury and the like, they were committed to the "firm and strong prison" which the Cistercian rule prescribed as a necessary part of every Abbey. Hardened sinners were expelled from their own house and sent to do penance at another of the same order. When the Canons of Bridlington found that they could not keep Brother Simon le Constable in order they sent him to Guisborough Priory. He was forbidden to go outside the Priory, to send or receive letters, or to speak to any secular person save in the presence of the Prior. He had to recite every day a portion of the Psalter, to confess once a week, to say every Friday seven penitential psalms of the liturgy with humility and reverence, and to receive in secret from the Prior on certain days "unam disciplinam."[1] Alice D'Eyville was expelled from Rosedale Nunnery and sent to Grendale, where she had to do penance, and fast on bread and water on six Church festivals; on four she had to receive "discipline" in the chapter; she was compelled to take her meals on the ground. Penance was often imposed on laymen. Peter de Mauley V., Baron Mauley of Mulgrave, had been found guilty of adultery, and was sentenced to fast every Friday for seven years on bread and weak ale; to make a pilgrimage to the shrines of St. William of York, St. Wilfred of Ripon, and St. John of Beverley; to be beaten seven times in his shirt, and, unless his conduct improved, to be beaten three times in York Minster.[2]

[1] A flogging. [2] "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. II., pp. 379-385.

LEARNING

The cause of learning owed much to the religious houses, and a part of the day was allotted to study. The Carthusians read or wrote in their cells, others in the cloister, which was divided into little studies. The Benedictines regarded study as more worthy than manual labour, although St. Benedict had told his followers that they must regard "themselves as true monks when they have to live by the labour of their hands." The Cistercians attached more importance to manual labour than to literature, and the permission of the General Chapter was necessary for the publication of new books.

The Library was an important part of the Monastery, although few possessed as many manuscripts as Whitby. At the end of the fourteenth century there were eighty-nine in the Whitby Library. The theological works numbered sixty, and included six copies of Bede's Ecclesiastical History; volumes of Ambrose, Isidore, Eusebius, Basil, Donatus, and other Fathers; the works of Josephus; a considerable number of Biblical Commentaries and lives of the Saints. Cicero, Juvenal, Persius and Statius were the chief Latin authors of classical times; later writers were represented by the "de Trinitate" and "de Consolatione Philosophiae" of Boethius. It is interesting to note that although Greek was little studied in England, copies of Plato and Homer were included. Priscian's Grammar, an Introduction to Music, a Treatise on Arithmetic, and a book on Natural History entitled "Natura Bestiarum," completed a very valuable library.[1]

The local monasteries produced several writers of merit. Aelred, third Abbot of Rievaulx, who died in 1167, wrote a chronicle of the reign of Henry I., doubtless with the consent of the General Chapter of his order. William, Canon of Newburgh, wrote "Historia Regum Angliae." Walter of Hemingburgh, Canon of Guisborough, wrote a History of England from 1066 to 1308. The early part was based largely upon Wm. of Newburgh's History, but the later is more valuable. The stirring account of Edward I.'s campaigns in Scotland makes the reader suspect that the learned author was not ignorant of the use of sword and spear. The manuscripts of John Norton, sixth Prior of Mount Grace, who flourished about 1487, are still preserved in Lincoln Cathedral. They are a treatise "De Musica Monachorum," and two devotional works, "Thesaurus Cordium Amantium" and "Devota Lamentatio."

[1] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 341.

SCHOOLS

Both the Precentor and the Master of the Novices acted as schoolmasters. Promising monks were sent to Oxford or Cambridge at the expense of the house to study theology or canon law, and the regulations of Popes Clement V. and Benedict XII. required that one should be sent out of every twenty in residence. Brother Robert of Marton, and one other canon were sent from Guisborough to Oxford to read theology,[1] and in 1424 the Prior and Canons were censured by the Archbishop for recalling from Oxford, without reasonable excuse, Brother John Thweng, who had been sent up for the same purpose.

AGRICULTURE

The cultivation of the land adjoining their house was carried on under the supervision of the brethren. Much of the labour, particularly in the case of Cistercian houses, was done by conversi or lay brethren, who were regarded as inferior in position to the monks or canons. They took their meals in their own refectory, and slept in their own dormitory. Their lack of learning prevented them from taking a full share in the services of the Church, but they were required to repeat the Pater Noster and Gloria Patri frequently, attended Mass on Sunday, and received Holy Communion seven times a year. Owing to the strain of their hard labour they rose later than the monks, received an additional allowance of coarse bread and were excused certain fasts.

After dinner the brethren and conversi assembled and received the necessary tools. The Abbot or Prior accompanied them out to their work, and, when the psalm they sang during the procession was ended, prayed for a blessing upon their labours.

Some of the work was done by hired servants, who made a contract for wages and often for clothes and meat, and in the course of time hired servants tended to supersede the conversi. Hired servants were paid by the Cellarer in church in the presence of the Head of the house, except in the case of distant granges to which the Cellarer went alone. The swineherds of Whitby Abbey, in 1532, received 7s. in wages, an allowance in white loaves and good ale, and the grain remaining in the coolers when the small beer had been drawn off; the bread burnt in the oven was given them to feed their pigs.

Neighbouring freemen often owed "boon days," and on such days were obliged to give service at request.[2] Such services included ploughing, sowing, reaping, hedging, ditching, and were

[1] "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. II., p. 388. [2] "At ben."

rewarded according to custom. William, son of Roger, gave to Guisborough, in return for the benefit of the brotherhood of the house and a share of prayers and alms, all the usual boon days which his father had given. A considerable portion of the land was let to tenants who paid rent in money or kind at Whitsuntide and Michaelmas.

Land at a distance was worked from granges which were built to afford accommodation to conversi who could not return to the Abbey at night, and to store the produce of the farms until it could be forwarded to the Abbey or sold to merchants. In 1244 Malton Priory had eleven granges, and forty-nine ploughs were in use in the lands belonging to the Priory. The monks of Byland had a grange at Osgodby which was valued at £13 6s. 8d. at the Dissolution of the Monasteries; they built another at Angram to provide milk, cheese, butter, bacon and bread for the Abbey. The remains of the vivarium or fishpond they built for their grange at South Otterington are still to be seen.

The profits of agriculture were considerable, and were often used for the purchase of more land from impoverished landowners. In fourteen years the Canons of Malton spent £500 in extending their estates, and in 1244 they bought seven bovates of land from William of Richburgh, in return for which they paid 36½ marks of his debts to Joses, nephew of Aaron of York. Early in the thirteenth century, Richard de Percy gave the Abbot of Whitby a carucate in Dunsley in return for the money "with which they liberated me and my lands from the Jews." In 1301 the Canons of Guisborough made so much from their land and property that they paid off £225 of debt. But land did not always prove a profitable investment, and the Cistercians were sometimes involved in financial difficulties owing to unfortunate purchases.

It is difficult to over estimate the services rendered to agriculture by the religious houses. The Carthusians, from the nature of their organisation, did less than others, but the Cistercians, who attached special importance to manual labour, gained a great reputation for successful farming.

The revival of agriculture after the Harrying of the North was due mainly to the religious houses, who introduced better methods of tillage, reclaimed moor and fen, and at Rievaulx "made the wilderness to blossom as the rose."

Although individual monks were vowed to poverty, important commercial transactions were conducted on behalf of the Monastery. Surplus stocks of corn, meat and farm produce were sold. At Whitby the sale of fish was a valuable source of revenue, and in six months ending May, 1394, brought in £42 8s. 3d., which is equivalent to perhaps £1300 in modern value.[1] Enormous profits

[1] "Memorials of Old Whitby," p. 198.

were made on wool, and in the middle of the fourteenth century the Canons of Malton made an average annual profit of £373 3s. 6d. It is probable that this was not all made on wool from their own flocks, but that they collected wool from other sheep farmers and retailed it for their own advantage.

BUILDING

The activities of the brethren were not confined to agriculture. In addition to their own conventual buildings they built bridges; about 1200 the Abbot of Whitby obtained the right to build a stone bridge at Sleights. They quarried their own stone and burnt their own lime. The latter operation was not free from danger. In 1197 [1] a Canon of Malton fell into a lime pit and died immediately, poisoned by carbonic acid gas. Two bystanders who went to investigate shared the same fate. A third, "protecting himself with the sign of the Cross," descended by a short ladder into "the fatal pit," and immediately shouted "I am dying, I am dying; pull me out." Those standing nearest seized the top of the ladder to which the victim was clinging, and pulled him out. The next day some men recovered the bodies of the dead, on which they found no disfigurement except that the left eyes were bruised and bloodshot.

IRON WORKING, MILLS, FISHERIES

The monks were important iron masters. The Prior of Guisborough had forges in Glaisdale; the monks of Byland worked the iron ore in Rosedale. Many slag tips remain in the neighbourhood of Rievaulx as a proof of the industry of the local monks. The monks of Jervaulx smelted lead in Wensleydale and the adjoining country.

The management of the Abbey Mills was not the least important part of the duties of the religious houses, and considerable profits were made by the Monks of Rievaulx and the Canons of Guisborough from their valuable Salmon Fisheries on the Tees.

MILITARY SERVICE

The obligation of military service and the need of defence against the Scots compelled the religious houses to take part in warlike operations which offered a striking contrast to the even tenor of their usual life. Guisborough Priory became an important military outpost, and was strongly fortified to resist the invaders

[1] "William of Newburgh," Vol. V., Chap. 33.

from the North. The monastic lands which were not held in free alms, contributed their proportions to the local levies, and in 1314 the Abbots of St. Mary's (York), Rievaulx and Byland united with the heads of other Yorkshire houses to take measures to oppose the Scots. The wagons and horses of abbeys and priories were often requisitioned for military transport.

HOSPITALITY

Religious houses frequently gave shelter to the homeless and relieved the needy. Within their walls fugitives from other houses often found shelter, especially those who fled south to escape from the Scots. In 1319 the Prior of Guisborough was asked to assist Archbishop Melton, who had lost all his plate in the Chapter of Myton. In 1320 some Canons of Bolton Priory, which had been plundered by the Scots, were hospitably entertained at Guisborough, and some Jedburgh monks, expelled from their own Abbey by the Scots, found refuge in the same Priory. The most interesting of the fugitives from Scotland was Wymund, the soldier bishop of Man and the Isles. "For some time he successfully led his flock on marauding expeditions against the isles and coasts of Scotland, and baffled all the efforts of David, King of that country, to take him. He was at length defeated by a brother bishop, taken prisoner, and had his eyes put out." He spent the last years of his life, from 1141-1151, at Byland, where he fought his battles over again, and told dreadful tales of the vengeance he would have exacted if his enemies "had left him but the eyes of a sparrow." [1] Generous hospitality was shown to travellers. Those of high rank were entertained within the monastery; wayfaring men of humble degree, such as pedlars and pilgrims, found food and shelter in the guesthouse.

POOR RELIEF

Religious houses recognised the duty of relieving the poor, but, although many enjoyed their bounty, it seems probable that the indiscriminate relief they gave did much to perpetuate poverty. John, Archdeacon of Richmond, bound Easby Abbey to spend, for the benefit of his soul, £2 15s. 11d. a year on food and drink for five poor folk, and on the feast of St. Agatha, the patron saint of the Abbey, corn and fish to the value of £4 were provided for the poor of the neighbourhood. At Guisborough there existed a similar fund, which had been augmented by such special gifts as that of a toft in the township, to defray the cost of fuel for the poor. The

[1] "William of Newburgh," Vol. I., p. 67.

Almoner distributed to thirteen poor men one canon's portion of bread, meat and beer daily, and all who came to the Priory on the feast of The Assumption received a dole of bread and flesh. Sometimes old servants were quartered on the religious houses by Kings; Edward I. sent one to Guisborough and bade the canons "keep him in food and clothes as long as he lived." [1]

CORRODIES

The system of corrodies ensured support for the old age of those who could pay the price the monks required. A corrody was a grant of food and lodgings for man and beast, usually in return for a money payment, although sometimes as a return for past services. In 1530 the Prioress of Yeddingham gave to Richard Dobson, husbandman, and Maud his wife, in return for £10, a cottage near the Convent Church, the annual keep of two cows, a horse, six hens and one cock, the keep of one ox for the summer; one pig a year, every third year two calves; and the haulage of four loads of turf a year. The annual value of the corrody was 16s. 4d. Another corrody at Yeddingham for one widow woman was worth 18s. a year, and cost £7 13s. 4d. In 1534 Abbot Roland of Rievaulx granted a corrody to John Benson and Jennett his wife, on the understanding that the wife was to receive only a half if the husband died. The grant included every week six gallons of convent ale, twelve gallons of yeoman ale, ten white and six rye loaves; every day "one mess of meat, both fish day and flesh day, served from the kitchen"; every year one stone of tallow, half a bushel of salt and one bushel of oatmeal; a house and garden, one load of hay, one of wood and one of turf "carried to their door," and one load of each to be carried by themselves. Another corrody, granted by Abbot William of Rievaulx, included seven salt fish, sixty white and as many red herrings to be delivered at the beginning of Lent.[2]

THE LIFE IN A GREAT ABBEY

The brethren worked hard, but their life was not all sackcloth and ashes. Exactly one-eighth of the expenditure of Whitby Abbey [3] for 1394-5 was incurred for malt and wine, and the fact that the brewer drew the highest wages is not without significance. But the monks remembered the needs of others; twelve pence were paid to slake the thirst of men working at the lime-kilns, and the

[1] "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. II., p. x.
[2] See also "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. II., p. 362.
[3] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. II., pp. 600-625.

masters of vessels received 3s. 4d. for drink " by order of the Abbot." Fish was an important item, and we read of the purchase of two thousand oysters, of one thousand herrings and two barrels of eels, of three pike and a porpoise. A dozen of partridges, teal or plovers cost 3s., and dates, currants, figs, mace and pepper were provided in considerable quantities. Other entries refer to the purchase and carriage of grain and meat, to the provision of utensils for baking and brewing, the cost of labour at the fulling mill and dovecot, the purchase of stock, and of equipment for horses. Payments were made to " Thomas Mason," " Thomas Slater," and other craftsmen, and to women who cut rushes to cover the floors; and the interesting entry, " item for working fourteen wolves' skins 1s. 9d.," reminds us that the wolf still haunted the forests of England.

We read of the engagement of harpers and flautists on St. Hilda's Day, of " a certain clever player and his assistant," and of players at Christmas. Substantial gratuities were given to the servants of distinguished visitors, and 40s. were allowed to the Abbot to pay the expenses of his visit to the castle of the Percys at Warkworth.

The Abbot of Whitby, who " was almost an absolute prince," [1] maintained considerable state, and the best the country could supply was at his disposal. His horse cost £6, six times the usual price; his private room was splendidly furnished [2] with plate of silver and silver gilt; fine linen was provided for his tables and three skins covered the floor. The Prior of Guisborough was served at his table by gentlemen only.[3] He " kept a most pompous house, insomuch that the town, consisting of five hundred householders, had no land, but lived all on the Abbey." To rich and poor he gave lavish hospitality, and an unfortunate steward was put out of his office " because he had only four hundred quarters of grain to serve the house."

The Heads of the great houses were not only ecclesiastical dignitaries. They ranked with the great barons, and sent contingents of their tenants to fight for Edward I. and II. against the Scots. They acted as judges and as magistrates. They attended Parliament and the greatest of the Church Councils; the Abbot of Whitby was summoned to Parliament by Henry III., Edward I. and Edward II.; the Abbot of Rievaulx, in 1409, sent representatives to the Council of Pisa. They took an active interest in the election of Archbishops, and in 1142 the Abbot of Rievaulx and the Priors of Guisborough and Kirkham journeyed to Rome and protested, unsuccessfully, against the election of St. William to the See of York.

[1] " Young's Whitby," p. 283. [2] " Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 320.
[3] " Cotton MSS."

The religious houses played a most important part in the life of the country, and, in spite of the disputes in which they were occasionally involved, gained a great hold on the affection of the people. Many, even of the highest rank, spent their last years as members of the monastic orders. Testators often left directions that they were to be buried in the convent near which they had lived, and were interred in the chancel, cloisters or chapter house. Local records afford convincing proof of the affection with which Yorkshiremen regarded the Monasteries, and help us to understand why the Dissolution of the Monasteries caused the Pilgrimage of Grace.

CHAPTER XVI

THE WEALTH AND POWER OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES

THE lavish grants of land made to the Monasteries by great nobles were supplemented by further gifts of lands and privileges which materially increased their wealth.

LAND

Smaller grants of land, varying from one to ten acres, were made by people of high or low degree, and were far too numerous for detailed enumeration. But such examples as the toft which "Agnes, the daughter of William the Forester, widow of William the Miller," gave to Guisborough, and the four and a half acres which Accline of Levingthorpe,[1] gave to Whitby are noteworthy, because they show that the poor as well as the rich delighted to honour the religious houses. Sometimes the grant consisted of a charge on land and not the land itself; William Fitzwalter de Mowbray gave Rievaulx an annual rent of two shillings or a sparrow-hawk from his lands in Thornaby;[2] Whitby Abbey received from William Fossard a grant of three shillings a year from his land at Middleton.

Monastic records show that gifts were often allocated to a special object. A toft in Hinderwell was given to Whitby to maintain a lamp before the High Altar, three oxgangs[3] in Dunsley for "making and writing books," and half a toft in Whitby for the repair of books.[4] The benefactions to Guisborough included several for the maintenance of the fabric and others to provide lights for the dormitory, and to pay for the cost of fuel and fire for "the poor folk who are lodged there."[5] The widow of Peter de Mauley III. left 100 marks to repair the roof of the Dominican Convent at Scarborough.

1 "Linthorpe near Middlesbrough, Whitby, Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 113.
2 "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 231.
3 An oxgang, an eighth of a carucate, was fifteen acres.
4 "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 19.
5 "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. I., pp. 146, 148.

Landowners often granted rights of pasturage on their lands. Rievaulx received from Walter Ingelram the right of grazing a thousand sheep in Heslerton;[1] from Bernard de Baliol pasturage in Teesdale for sixty mares and their foals up to the age of two years, for twelve cows and two bulls;[2] from Robert de Sproxton pasturage for thirty cows with their calves, one bull and two hundred sheep.[3] Prudent grantors protected themselves from undue extension of the privileges they gave. Robert of Liverton, in 1161, gave grazing rights to Whitby on condition "that they do not injure me and my men by feeding too many cattle."[4] A grant of pasturage to Rievaulx was limited by the condition that the monks should not cut wood except with the consent of the donor, and that "their dogs should not run there unless they were led."

Rights of passage were a valuable concession at a time when roads were often impassable. A good example was the permission given by Richard Cumin to the monks of Rievaulx that they and their men shall have "in wood and plain, pastures, moors, marshes and waters, paths and ways, what is necessary to them."[5]

FOREST RIGHTS

Forest rights of considerable value were often granted to the religious houses. The forest of Whitby, which Abbot William had ceded to Henry I., was restored to the Abbey by John.[6] Henry III. gave to the Canons of Guisborough the rights of freewarren in their demesne lands of Guisborough, Ugthorpe, Barnaby and Lonsdale, "so that no one may enter these lands to hunt or take in them any things that belong to a warren without the licence or will of the Prior or Convent."[7] Edward III. allowed them to empark Clyve Wood and eighty adjoining acres, and gave them free warren in Thornaby and Hutton Lowcross.[8] Peter de Brus promised that he would not hinder the men or the dogs of the Prior from hunting in Guisborough, and the Prior undertook to make amends according to the custom of the forest if his men trespassed in Peter's lands. Peter also granted to the Prior a tithe of all wild animals "which I and my heirs shall catch for ever."[9] Coverham Abbey received a grant of freewarren in its demesne lands in 1271.[10]

Grants of woodland were common. Henry, Chaplain of Stokesley, gave to Whitby a plantation of young trees at Ingleby Greenhow to pay for a light and incense for St. Andrew's Church

1 "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 51.
2 *Ibid.*, 68.
3 *Ibid.*, 79.
4 "Whitby Chartulary, Vol. I., p. 178.
5 "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 214.
6 "Whitby Chartulary," p. 157.
7 "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 133.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 137.
9 *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 92.
10 I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXV., p. 277.

in that place which belonged to the Abbey.[1] Thomas Bate of West Newton gave to Rievaulx a share of moor and brushwood in Oswaldkirk which belonged to him and his wife. John de Dreux, Earl of Richmond, gave to the Canons of Eggleston, who served a chantry in his Chapel, permission to carry fourscore cartloads of turf and twenty cartloads of heather from his moor of Bowes to the Abbey, or to their grange at Startforth. Perhaps the grant that seems strangest to modern readers was that made to the Prior of Guisborough in 1242 by Peter de Brus II., who allowed him to gather nuts in his woods at Moorsholm.[2]

FISHERIES

Grants of fish and fisheries were important at a time when the pious ate no meat in Lent, on Fridays or fast days. Coatham was one centre of the North Sea fishery. Peter de Brus II. gave the Canons of Guisborough liberty to buy fish there, and to carry it by any route through his lands, with an additional grant of 100 pounds of haddock a year from every boat; Adam de Brus exempted the monks of Byland from the tolls payable to him as Lord of the Manor on the fish they bought at Coatham. Bernard de Baliol gave to Rievaulx a salmon fishery at Newsham-on-Tees, and prohibited others from fishing in that water. An acre of the adjoining land was added for the erection of buildings, and the right of cutting sods and taking stones for repairs was granted.[3] Free passage was promised for the monks' boats, and no one was to stop the salmon as they swam from the sea to the fishery. Richard FitzWalter granted to Rievaulx the exclusive right of fishing at Normanby, and the Abbey derived a considerable income from these valuable fisheries.

The port of Whitby belonged to the Abbey, and in addition to the usual tolls, the Abbot had the right of receiving "plankage," a payment for permission to put planks from ship to shore, and "spredales of nets," a charge levied on nets not belonging to Whitby fishermen which were spread out to dry on the shore. To him belonged all wrecks, all things floating on the sea (flotsam) and all things thrown up on the beach (jetsam). He probably found no difficulty in paying each year to St. Peter's Hospital at York a rent charge of "three thousand good and seasonable herrings on the morrow of St. Andrew the Apostle."[4] Poaching was a common offence, and the Abbot of Coverham, who in 1388 accused trespassers of unlawfully taking from his waters fish to the value of one hundred shillings, was not the only dignitary who suffered from poachers.

1 "Whitby Chartulary," p. 181.
2 "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 117.
3 "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 66.
4 "Whitby Chartulary," p. 212.

MILLS

Mills were a very profitable source of revenue. Robert de Brus included his mills in Guisborough in his original grant to the Priory, and no one was allowed to build a new one without the Prior's consent. Ernald de Percy gave to Guisborough a mill at Cargo Fleet. Adam de Ingleby gave his mill at Ingleby to Whitby, and agreed that his men should repair the dam and provide materials and mill stones on condition that he and his heirs should be excused from "multure," or grinding fees.[1] Rievaulx had a mill in Fryton with the right of taking the timber and stones necessary to repair the building and mill pond, and free access across the donor's lands.[2] Joan Fossard gave her mill at Egton and the fishing belonging to it to Grosmont Priory; the old Abbey mill and granary are still standing at Easby.[3] The mill at East Bolton in Wensleydale was given to Rievaulx, and the donors undertook "that we and our heirs will never erect another mill, nor will we have handmills in the said place, nor will we allow any other." [4]

MARKETS

The towns which grew around some of the religious houses became important centres of trade, and the right of holding a market and receiving market tolls was valuable. As in the case of free warren, a royal charter was required for markets. Henry III. gave to Guisborough Priory the right of holding a weekly market on Monday and a fair, lasting three days, once a year. The Abbot of Whitby held a market every Sunday,[5] but respect for the Lord's Day led to the substitution of Saturday for Sunday during the greater part of the year, although Sunday markets continued to be held during harvest.

SALT

Valuable mineral rights were granted to religious houses. During the winter salt fish and meat were important articles of diet, and large supplies of salt were required to meet the needs of a religious house. The monks worked the deposits of salt at the mouth of the Tees. Brine was placed in salt pans, and the salt was obtained by evaporation, which was accelerated by artificial heat. The Prior of Guisborough paid to the Brus family an annual rent of one measure of salt for a salt-pan on Coatham Marsh,[6] and

1 "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 53.
2 "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 218.
3 Near Richmond.
4 "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 93.
5 "Young's" Whitby, p. 411.
6 "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. II.

the Priory of Rosedale received from William de Brocton some saltworks in the same place.

IRON

In 1223 Peter de Brus III. gave to the Prior and Canons of Guisborough, the pioneers of the Cleveland Iron Trade, "a forge in Glaisdale, so that they may seek and take iron ore wherever they can find it without let or hindrance." Alan the Black, Count of Richmond, gave to the monks of Fors [1] permission to work any mines of iron or lead they might find in the forest of Wensley. Adam FitzWalter gave to Rievaulx Abbey all the ironstone in Ugglethwaite,[2] allowed them to cut timber in the woods to make charcoal, and ordered that "none other than the monks shall have a furnace for making iron in the land of the said township." [3]

MORTUARIES AND OTHER GIFTS

Furniture, vestments and plate were often bequeathed to the religious houses, especially as mortuaries or burial fees. In the fifteenth century Sir William Salvayne left to the Monastery at Whitby three shillings and four pence for repairs to the building, and his best gown as a mortuary. To the guest-house he bequeathed a mattress, a pair of sheets, a pair of blankets and a counterpane. The mortuary of his son John consisted of his best horse, with saddle and bridle, and his arms. Lady Isabella Fauconberg left to Mount Grace Priory in 1400 "my best furred mantle." Edward III., on the death of Queen Philippa, left the hangings of her bed to York Minster; they were cut up and made into vestments. The silver gilt chalice and twelve silver spoons which William of Ainthorpe gave to Mount Grace in 1432 are but a single example of the presents of plate which greatly added to the wealth of the religious houses.

CHURCHES

The churches and chapels they received proved a valuable source of income to abbeys and priories, which, as rectors, received the great tithes of wool and corn, and paid a small salary to a vicar [4] who was instituted by the Archbishop, or a Stipendiary Priest [5] to discharge the duties of the living. At the Dissolution of the Monasteries the great tithes often passed to a lay rector, and this

[1] Afterwards Jervaulx.
[2] Canon Atkinson could not identify the place.
[3] "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 56.
[4] Latin *vicarius*—a substitute.
[5] These Stipendiary Priesthoods were the origin of the perpetual curacies which existed up to about forty years ago; they are now vicarages.

partly accounts for the small value of many modern livings. The duty of repairing the chancel, which devolves upon the rector, was often neglected by corporate and monastic rectors, and parishes suffered considerably from this arrangement.

Guisborough had at least forty churches or chapels in England and eight in Scotland, and many depended on Whitby. St. Mary's Abbey at York derived a considerable revenue from such important churches as Burneston and East Gilling. The great exception was Rievaulx, to which no churches or chapels were given, and the spiritual revenues of the Abbey were very small in consequence.

JURISDICTION

The power derived from great possessions was increased by royal grants of jurisdiction and by exemptions from taxation.

All the great houses received, by royal grant, sac and soc, tol and team, and infangentheof, and these rights were enjoyed also by the Prioress of Yeddingham. Henry III. gave to Malton in common with all Gilbertine Convents, the power of holding courts with full rights, even including that of judicial combat, together with fines levied on their men wherever they were indicted. The power of life and death belonged to most of the great houses, although the smaller convents, notably that of the Hospitallers, did not possess it. At York the Archbishop had the right of hanging men and drowning women felons. The Dean and Chapter, the Abbot of St. Mary's, the Master of St. Leonard's Hospital and the Abbot of Byland also had gallows at York.

EXEMPTIONS

The authority of the King's officials was limited in the case of many of the more important religious houses. A royal charter to Guisborough gave to the Prior "the return of all writs, precepts bills, and orders whatsoever of us and our heirs and of our justices, officers and servants whatsoever;" and also the execution of the same by their bailiffs appointed and deputed by them for this purpose. "So that no sheriff, or other bailiff or servant of us and our heirs may enter the said land or fees for the execution of such writs, precepts, bills or orders, or for doing any other duty within the parish aforesaid unless only through default of the said Prior and Convent." The bailiffs of the Abbot of Whitby took cognizance of pleas in the Court Merchant which was held daily, and in the court of Common Pleas held thrice a year. Henry II. took Rievaulx under his protection, and allowed the monks to hold their lands

free from the shire, hundred and wapentake courts,[1] and Henry III. gave a similar privilege to Malton Priory. Further relief from the sheriff's authority was secured by grants of the View of Frankpledge such as Henry III. made to Guisborough. For police purposes families were grouped into tithings of ten members each, all of whom were held responsible for crimes committed by one of the number. It was the sheriff's duty to inquire into the working of this arrangement at a Court called the Sheriff's Tourn, which was held in each hundred twice a year. The Prior of Guisborough received the right of holding the View of Frankpledge of all men residing within the parish twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas. Whitby Abbey and the Preceptory of the Hospitallers at Feliskirk enjoyed the same privilege.

The privilege of sanctuary enabled the monks to save from punishment many accused of crime. The Abbot of Whitby could save from peril of life or limb, or from imprisonment, any man accused of felony or any crime who succeeded in getting within the Abbey bounds before he was captured, and the fugitive was safe as long as he remained within the bounds of sanctuary. There was great dispute between the citizens of York and the Abbot of St. Mary's as to the right of sanctuary given by the Abbot to Marygate, adjoining the Abbey. This district became the abode of abandoned criminals who were a standing menace to peaceful citizens, but were saved from just punishment by the Abbot's authority.

FRANKALMOIN OR FREE ALMS

The heads of religious houses, like all tenants, held their lands on condition of military service, but some of the monastic lands were held in Frankalmoin or Free Alms. Land was usually given on condition that the recipients should pray for the souls of the donor or of members of his family, and secular services due to the donor were remitted. But any services due to the donor's overlord or to the King were still binding upon the monks to whom lands were given, although it was found much more difficult to exact such services from a monastery than from a lay tenant.

The generosity of Kings and of overlords often added to the value of their sub-tenants' grants by a remission of taxes and secular services. Henry I. exempted the monks of Rievaulx from the payment of Danegeld on some of their lands, from payment of tolls and bridge dues for their men, horses and property, and ordered his officials at Southampton, Hastings, Dover, Benfleet, and Portsmouth to see that the usual charges were remitted in

[1] "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 144.

their case.[1] Richard I. excused them from all secular charges on account of their property and "all things which they buy or sell in fairs or markets in every place in our dominions by land and sea." [2] Edward I. freed the Abbey from the duty of repairing the royal castles and bridges.[3] Henry II. exempted Byland from all tolls in cities, boroughs, markets, fairs, bridges and ports in England and Normandy, thus confirming and extending a grant of exemption from all tolls at Thirsk which Roger de Mowbray had made. Henry III. confirmed to Guisborough the grant of Trimdon in Durham in "free and perpetual alms, clear and quit from all homage and relief," [4] including military service. The Dominicans of Scarborough and the Dean and Chapter of St. Peter's, York, were free from all tolls in their respective boroughs. St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital were exempt from murage, a toll levied on goods brought into or sold in a walled town, and used at York for the repair of the city walls.

LIMITATIONS OF RIGHTS

The power of the Abbots and Priors was limited by the supreme authority of the Pope, by the right of visitation possessed in many cases by the Archbishop of York, and, nominally, by the rights of presentation which were usually retained in the founder's family.

Payments to the Pope were often a serious drain on the resources of the religious houses, although instances of remission of tithes are not uncommon; Byland was exempted from payment of tithes on land by Alexander III., and from tithes of the produce of their mines by Gregory IX. But in spite of large payments made to Rome, the authority of the Pope was never questioned by the monks and canons, who found the Holy Father ever ready to vindicate their cause against powerful enemies. The visitations of the Archbishop were sometimes opposed, and Ralph, Prior of Guisborough, was deposed, and two of his canons excommunicated because they had refused to admit Archbishop Roger to their Priory, and had ignominiously turned him away from their doors.[5] But exemption was sometimes obtained from the payment to the Archbishop of tithes on all monastic property except on lands which the monks tilled themselves. About 1245 the Abbot of Whitby agreed to pay three thousand "good" (the adjective is significant) herrings as acknowledgment of his exemption from tithes due for Whitby Strand.

The members of religious houses had the right of electing

1 "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 141. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 130.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 130. 4 "Guisborough Chartulary," p. 132.
5 "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. II., Introduction xl.

their own heads, but the elections of Prior Serlo and Abbot William de Percy at Whitby, and Prior William de Brus at Guisborough, show that founders exercised great influence in early appointments. Nominally the patrons retained the right of confirmation, and the Prior elect of Guisborough went in state to Castleton or Skelton to receive confirmation from Brus or Fauconberg. As a matter of practice, confirmation of the choice of the brethren was never refused.

CONFIRMATION OF GRANTS

The conditions of Feudal Service made it necessary to secure confirmation of grants of land from the King, the owner of all land, and from the overlord of the donor. Popes and Archbishops of York frequently confirmed temporal and spiritual grants, and the records of the monastic houses contain charters of confirmation from every Norman and Plantagenet King. Several of these have been mentioned in preceding chapters, but two may be quoted as examples. Henry I. "granted and confirmed to God and the Church of St. Peter and St. Hilda at Whitby, and to the monks performing divine service there, all the lands, churches, tithes and possessions which King William, my father, and King William, my brother, gave, and by their charters confirmed to the said Church for a perpetual alms." [1] Richard I. gave a charter of protection to Rievaulx and ordered all men "to guard, maintain and protect their property as if our own." [2] Grants in Scotland required the confirmation of the Scottish King, and King David confirmed grants of land in Annandale made to Guisborough by the junior branch of the Brus family. The charter of foundation of Guisborough was confirmed by Thurstan, Archbishop of York, by the Chapter of St. Peter's, York, by Pope Calixtus II., as well as by several of the Kings of England. In 1205 Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, regranted to Whitby, the Church of Ingleby Greenhow, "lest by the change of times or the devices of wicked men the benefactions that have been granted for ecclesiastical uses should be in any danger of being weakened or set aside." [3] In 1130 Archbishop Thurstan confirmed the charter of Whitby Abbey, and declared the Abbey lands to be "free and quit of every episcopal usage." Pope Alexander III. confirmed Rievaulx in the possession of the property it had received.

[1] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 213. [2] "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 123.
[3] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 214.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES

The descendants of pious benefactors often viewed with dissatisfaction the grants that their ancestors had made, and the lavish grants that Robert de Brus made to Guisborough were "little to the satisfaction of Adam, his son and heir." To obviate difficulty, the relatives of the donor were often associated with the original grants. William de Percy's original grant to Whitby was made with the concurrence of Emma de Port his wife, his eldest son Alan, his younger sons William and Walter, his relative Ernald de Percy, the founder of the Kildale branch of the house, and the Archbishop of York. It was confirmed by William the Conqueror, and by Hugh, Earl of Chester, from whom the grantor held Whitby. Robert de Brus' charter to Guisborough states that the grant was made by the donor and "Agnes my wife and Adam our son and heir."

Their extensive interests made it impossible for Priors and Abbots to live at peace with all men, and quarrels involving an appeal to the law courts were of frequent occurrence. The Carmelites of Malton seem to have been particularly litigious, and over a considerable period only four years passed without lawsuits. During this time they spent £114 in bribes to the sheriffs and bailiffs of Yorkshire, so it is reasonable to suppose that they gained some measure of success in the County Courts.

The Kings of England generally showed much favour to the Abbeys and Priories. They readily confirmed the brethren in the possession of their estates, although the royal revenues suffered from the immunities granted to clerical lands. The loss of revenue owing to these immunities became so serious that in 1279 the Statute of Mortmain was passed, which forbade men to leave lands to ecclesiastical corporations. But dispensations to receive bequests in spite of the Act were not infrequent; such dispensations were granted in the case of Guisborough in 1334, 1375 and 1412, on one occasion in return for a payment of 100s.

Sometimes the religious houses had cause of complaint against their royal patrons. Rievaulx suffered because the Cistercians espoused Becket's cause. The ransom of Richard I. was raised partly by a tax on the wool of the Cistercians. On the death of Abbot Peter in 1211, King John seized the Abbey of Whitby, kept it vacant for three years and appropriated its revenues. At the end of the thirteenth century the Cistercians suffered heavy loss when Edward I. seized all the wool in the kingdom to pay the expense of the French War.

DISPUTES ABOUT TITHES AND ADVOWSONS

Disputes between religious houses often referred to the ownership of tithe. A dispute between Whitby and Guisborough as to rights to the tithes of twelve carucates of land belonging to the cell at Middlesbrough was referred to Robert de Brus I., who divided the tithes in question equally between the two houses. A great contest arose between the Abbot of Whitby and the Bishop of Carlisle in 1262. The Abbey owned the church of Crosby Ravensworth in Westmorland, and the Abbot supported the vicar, who refused to make certain payments of tithes on wool and lambs to the Bishop. The decision was given against Whitby, but the original sentence was reversed on an appeal to the Pope. A third trial resulted in a verdict for the Bishop owing to bribery at Rome. The Abbot and Rector were excommunicated for refusing to accept this result, and for holding the church by force. The case dragged on until 1280, when the Abbot made good his claim. A dispute as to tithes on property in Nunthorpe between the Abbot of Whitby and Susanna, Prioress of Basedale, ended in favour of the latter.

Questions as to the advowson of churches and payments from their vicars frequently led to litigation. In 1363 the Abbey of Whitby secured from the Archbishop of York, after formal trial, a confirmation of its right to annual revenues of 40s. from the Church of Hutton Bushell, 6s. 8d. from Sutton-in-Derwent, 13s. 4d. from Slingsby, 66s. 8d. from Kirby-in-Cleveland, and 13s. 4d. from Skirpenbeck. Difficulties had arisen in two of these cases. In 1328 Robert de Heslerton, Vicar of Kirby-in-Cleveland, had been ordered by the Ecclesiastical Court at York to pay five years' arrears of rent due to the Abbey, and in 1274 the Abbot of Whitby had proved to the King's Justices at Northallerton his right to present to the Church at Skirpenbeck which had been challenged by the lord of the manor.

Attempts were sometimes made by laymen to resume rights of presentation given to the religious houses by their ancestors. Adam de Brus II. claimed as against the Prior of Guisborough the advowson of Skelton which had been granted to the Prior by his grandfather. His claim was apparently unfounded, and, later, fearing that his soul was endangered by his action, he gave the church freely to the Prior. A suit as to the church of Kirkleatham proved somewhat discreditable to the Canons. The advowson had been given to them by William de Kilton, and confirmed by King John in 1210. In 1229 the grant was annulled in favour of Kilton's niece, Matilda de Hauterive, on the ground that it had been obtained by undue influence when the donor was on his deathbed, and not in full possession of his faculties.[1]

[1] "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. I., Introd. viii.

DISPUTES ABOUT OWNERSHIP

Difficulties as to ownership and trespass sometimes arose between neighbouring houses, especially between Rievaulx and Byland about 1170. One point at issue was the rights of each house over certain iron furnaces. Abbots Silvanus of Rievaulx and Roger of Byland agreed that Byland should have minerals and wood for six furnaces near Helmsley, while the monks from one Abbey were not to trespass on the property of the other. Any monk offending through carelessness was to be beaten in the chapter on the following Sunday, and to eat his meals not at table in the refectory, but "on the ground." If the offence was intentional, the punishment was to be inflicted on three Sundays. Jealousy between rival orders caused trouble, as in Scarborough, where the Cistercian monks refused to allow the Friars to preach in the Parish Church until they received a special order from Archbishop Wickwane.

DISPUTES WITH LAYMEN

The wealth and power of the religious houses sometimes aroused the anger of laymen who resented the heavier burdens laid on temporal estates because of the exemptions which the monastic lands enjoyed, and this resentment led sometimes to serious disorder. During the quarrel between Henry II. and Becket the latter had fled to France and found a refuge in the Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny. The King confiscated the lands of the Cistercian Abbeys; and some of the leading local barons, Roger de Mowbray of Thirsk, and his son Alan, Robert de Stuteville III., of Kirby Moorside, and his son William, and Everard de Ros of Helmsley took advantage of the opportunity to seize property belonging to Rievaulx Abbey. The monks appealed to Pope Alexander III., who instructed the Abbot of St. Mary's, York, and other dignitaries to compel the offenders to restore the property, and in case of refusal "to light candles and excommunicate them publicly." In August, 1280, Peter de Mauley instigated the rector of Lythe to arm his friends and to take by force the tithes of Ruswarp and Aislaby which had previously been paid to Whitby Abbey. The Abbey recovered the tithes on an appeal to the Pope in 1283.

Disputes as to trespass or the undue extension of rights granted by deceased benefactors were not uncommon. William de Ros of Helmsley, complained that the Abbot of Rievaulx went beyond his powers in regard to seventy carucates over which he had rights of grazing and pasture. The baron denied the Abbot's right to cut twigs for fodder, to hew timber for charcoal, to damage the pasture by cutting down oaks and leaving their trunks to rot, and

to take brushwood and twenty-two quarters of acorns and nuts. The Abbot asserted that the material had been taken only for his own use, and that his action was in accordance with precedent. A serious quarrel arose between Peter de Brus I. and John, Prior of Guisborough. The former maintained that the monastic property in Glaisdale injured his preserves, and the Prior accepted lands in the East Riding in exchange for the property in question. The Prior still kept certain rights of pasture on Glaisdale Moors, and in 1246 the King's Judges investigated the case of Prior Michael, who brought an action against Peter de Brus III. for unjustly impounding stray cattle. Peter agreed that the Prior's cattle found in his corn or meadows should not be impounded, but that they should be driven back on to the Prior's land without injury. In return the Prior agreed to respect Peter's rights of hunting in Glaisdale.

Disputes as to payments in money or kind were not infrequent, and both laymen and clergy were involved. Legal action was sometimes taken owing to the relations of the religious houses with the Jews of York, who played an important part as financial agents in the North of England. In 1218 the Sheriff of York ordered the Prior of Guisborough to be distrained for £35 1s. 2d., due to Aaron of York for rent of a house in that city. In 1230 the Abbot of Rievaulx successfully resisted the suit of Boses and Manasses for payments on account of land given to the Abbey by Robert de Ros. Two examples may be taken of claims for payment in kind. In 1299 the Prior of Newburgh claimed of Thomas of Brandsby six hundred skips of charcoal, being arrears of an annual rent of twenty. Forty years later the Abbot of Byland claimed eight thousand haddocks from Peter de Brus, who for six years had neglected to make a payment of one thousand haddocks a year for which he was liable.

Matilda de Hauterive was not the only person who had just cause of complaint, and there is no doubt that Abbots and Priors sometimes treated their neighbours with scant consideration, and set the law of the land at defiance. In 1300, to take an early example, William le Latimer, Junior, of Danby, and Lucia his wife, complained that the Abbot of Whitby had forcibly abducted Alexander de Percy, a minor, whose land was held by the plaintiffs. In 1284 the Abbot of Easby was fined one hundred shillings for unlawful seizure of a mill held by a tenant of the Abbey. In early Tudor times the religious houses seem sometimes to have made unwarranted use of their power. Brian Sandford, steward of Pickering Lythe, in the reign of Henry VII. reported that men so feared the abbeys bordering on Pickering Forest that they "suffer them both to destroy the deer and woods." Appeals to law were useless, for when action was taken against the offenders they

" withdraw it out of the King's Books." The tenants of the Duchy of Lancaster were so afraid of the Prior of Old Malton that they could not occupy their holdings; the matter was brought before the King, who pre-emptorily ordered the Prior to let the tenants "live at rest." In 1517, Christopher Conyers of Pinchingthorpe complained that the Prior of Guisborough refused to allow him to occupy three hundred acres of waste, and to receive suit of his tenants in spite of the award of the Judge of Assize. The neighbouring gentry supported the Prior, and Conyers was attacked by the servants of Sir John Bulmer of Wilton, a friend of the Prior. The Prior denied complicity in the assault, and asserted that Conyers had broken the walls of one of the Abbey enclosures in seventeeen places.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

The accounts of Whitby Abbey from Martinmas 1394 to Martinmas, 1395 afford an interesting illustration of the financial position of the religious houses. The total income for 1395 was £654 4s. 2½d. For six months in 1396 the Abbey received from sales of wood £37 3s. od., hides about £1 10s. od., fish £2 13s. 8d., and cattle nearly £27. The tithe of fish landed in the port of Whitby and the proceeds from net money amounted to £52 13s. 11d. for the same period, and the spiritual income came to £20. But the expenditure was heavy. The cost of maintaining the fabric, of supplying provisions and wine, and of paying servants' wages formed the chief items. The total expenditure for the year 1395 exceeded £664, and of this £64 was paid for malt, and about £19 for wine, while £17 7s. od. went in servants' wages. The revenues gradually declined, and the total income for the year ending Whit-Sunday 1461 was £329, of which the spiritualities of the Abbey produced under £14. Even in its most prosperous years there was a very small margin of income, and extraordinary expenditure often caused a deficit.[1] In 1333 the Archbishop of York empowered John de Lumby, the Abbot's agent, to solicit contributions in the Province of York to meet the expenses of the Abbey, which were in excess of its income.

In Chapter XII. we have seen how greatly the religious houses suffered from Scottish raids which ruined Eggleston Abbey, and seriously impoverished Byland, Rievaulx and Guisborough. In 1276 the property of the Priory of Guisborough (excluding property in Scotland) was valued at 2000 marks. Sixteen years later the Priory was heavily in debt owing to heavy losses sustained " from the heart-breaking plundering of the Scots and freebooters." [2]

[1] Young's " History of Whitby." [2] " Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. II., p. 9.

In many instances, and especially in the cases of the nunneries, the finances of the houses were grossly mismanaged. The practice of granting corrodies,[1] which remained as annual charges long after the lump sum paid by the purchaser was exhausted, proved so heavy a charge on revenue that the Archbishops forbade the nunneries to grant any more. The entertainment of guests, the hospitality which was extended to brethren from other houses, and the maintenance of royal servants at the King's command added to financial difficulties. The relief of the poor does not seem to have been a great burden, as the cost was often met by endowments left for this purpose by pious benefactors, but legal expenses were heavy, and the Jews charged high rates of usury.

It is obvious that, in spite of their wide domains and extensive privileges, the religious houses were often in great financial straits. Their revenues were large, but even in peaceful and prosperous years their expenditure was so heavy that a Scottish raid or a bad harvest reduced them to poverty.

[1] Page 170.

CHAPTER XVII

CHURCHES AND CHANTRIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

PIOUS men of the Middle Ages did not limit their benefactions to religious houses, and their generosity was worthily exercised in the foundation and endowment of Parish Churches.

A considerable number of churches were built in the reign of Edward the Confessor, but many were destroyed during the Harrying of the North; in Domesday Book only ten are recorded for Cleveland, and some of these may have been built after the Conquest.[1] The early Norman Kings looked with favour on the religious houses, partly because the monastic system was the ecclesiastical phase of the feudal. For a time the influence of the parish priests was overshadowed, and the special favour of local nobles reserved for the religious houses. But even in the beginning of the Norman period Parish Churches received some support from the rich, and many were built between 1120 and 1150. Gradually the Parish Churches regained some of the influence they had exercised before the Norman Conquest, and by the middle of the fourteenth century they formed an element of great importance in the life of the district.

GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS

The west door was apparently the main entrance in early times, but later the worshippers entered by the south door. The font was placed near the entrance, and in some churches the north door was called the Devil's door, because through it fled the fiends who were expelled by the sacred rite of baptism. Sometimes, as at Barton-le-Street, the north door may have been used for processions. In some churches the parishioners from certain districts always used the same door; at Easingwold the north door was in consequence named the Raskelf door; the south door of Barton-le-Street was called the Coneysthorpe door from the neighbouring hamlet.

[1] Atkinson, "Cleveland," p. 122.

See page 138. RELIQUARY HOLDERS, RIEVAULX ABBEY.

By kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

G. E. Taylor.

See page 153. WINDOW FROM MALTON PRIORY CHURCH.

Showing Perpendicular Tracery with early English jambs, and dog-tooth moulding.

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G. E. Taylor.

See page 189.

THE PORCH AND PARVISE, KIRBY MOORSIDE CHURCH.

G. E. Taylor.

OLD CHURCH ROOF, HILTON IN CLEVELAND.

PORCH AND TOWER

The porch originally was simply a protection for the south door. But merchants often transacted business at the church door, and the porches were enlarged, partly for their convenience. A holy water stoup was placed in the porch in order that the congregation might sprinkle themselves before entering the church, and in some cases an additional stoup is found near the old entrance through the west door. A second storey was sometimes built over the porch, as at South Cowton, Thirsk, Easby, Northallerton and Kirby Moorside. It often contained a fireplace, and was used as a bedroom for the sexton, for the accommodation of a priest in charge, or of any priest who came from a distance to conduct the service. It may have been used as a chapel if the occasion arose. The upper chamber of a porch is termed a "parvise," but in mediæval times the word was used to denote a special porch, not the storey above it. The Parvise, Paradisus or Paradise was originally the forecourt of an early Christian Church, as at St. Ambrogio, Milan.[1] The name was also applied to the portico in front of St. Peter's at Rome.

In early churches, such as Wensley, Ingleby Greenhow, Barton-le-Street, and Alne, towers and steeples were small, and were usually, though not invariably, placed at the west end. But after the west door was closed, more attention was paid to the tower, especially in the thirteenth century. At Pickering the lower part of the tower is Norman, the upper part and spire are Decorated. At Ainderby Steeple a perpendicular steeple has been added to an Early English tower; at Kirby Wiske the church has been built in the Decorated style, but the tower is Perpendicular, and the magnificent towers at Thirsk and Coxwold belong to the same period. The octagonal tower at Coxwold is one of the most striking pieces of architecture in Yorkshire.

NAVE

The nave in small churches has no aisles. The aisles of larger churches were often added to the nave to meet a demand for more accommodation, and to contain altars, of which one was always placed at the east end. In larger churches each altar often had its own chapel, which was screened off from the rest of the building; excellent examples of screened chapels may be seen in the churches at Easby,[2] Scarborough, Thirsk and Bedale.

No seats were provided, and the congregation stood or sat on the floor, a few finding a seat on the bases of the pillars. An

[1] Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson. [2] Richmondshire.

interesting exception is found in the church at Middleton, near Pickering, where a low stone seat was built along the north wall for the convenience of the worshippers. Stools were used at a later date, and in course of time pews were constructed. In the larger churches pews were appropriated for the use of inhabitants of particular places, and the names of the hamlets to which they were allocated may still be seen in many pews in Whitby Parish Church.

CHANCEL

In Norman Churches the chancel was narrower than the nave. At Feliskirk Church, which dates from the middle of the twelfth century, and at Levisham Church, which is early Norman, the chancel ends in an apse. The chancel arch was round even in many Early English Churches, and usually plain. But Liverton Church offers a striking exception to the general rule. Its beautiful chancel arch consists of three orders elaborately ornamented with double chevron moulding, and with carvings representing a boar hunt, the temptation, a grotesque head and a pelican. A stone piscina for washing the sacred vessels was usually built into the wall of the chancel, and emptied by a small pipe draining into the churchyard. Sedilia were frequently provided for the officiating clergy.

A small door was often built in the south wall of the chancel for the use of the priests, and "low side" windows were built in the chancel wall as at Croft, Marton-on-the-Forest, Scawton and Thornton-le-Dale. There is much doubt as to the purpose for which the latter were intended. The theory that they were built to enable lepers to see the celebration of Mass at the altar must be rejected, for lepers were compelled to keep far away from their fellows. It is more likely that they were constructed to enable a bell ringer in the churchyard to see when the Host was elevated, so that he could ring his bell to inform villagers of the fact. Another, but less probable, explanation is that lanterns were hung in "low side" windows to keep away the evil spirits who appealed so vividly to the imagination of men in the Middle Ages. They may possibly have been used either for hearing confessions or for distributing alms.

In some churches unusual niches or recesses are found in the chancel, but it is not always easy to determine the purpose for which they were intended. In the north wall in the chancel of Thornton Steward Church is a recess which may have been an Easter Sepulchre in which the events of the passion were represented.[1] A remarkable and unique chamber opening out of the chancel at Tanfield may have

[1] "Romantic Richmondshire," p. 338.

Dr. J. L. Kirk.

HEROD'S FEAST.

It is composed of three pictures. On the right, Salome is seen performing a "Tumble" dance before Herod, his queen, and two guests, while St. John the Baptist is holding up a warning hand; in the centre, Salome has the head of St. John in a charger, and on the left the execution is shown.

Dr. J. L. Kirk.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. THOMAS À BECKET.

The Four Knights are seen approaching the "Turbulent Priest."

By kind permission of Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.

SOME OF THE WALL PAINTINGS ON THE NORTH WALL OF THE NAVE OF PICKERING CHURCH.

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Godfrey Bingley.

See page 192. THE BRUS TOMB, GUISBOROUGH CHURCH.

Godfrey Bingley.

See page 192. THE MARMION TOMB, TANFIELD CHURCH.
Showing Herse.

To face page 191.]

been a confessional,[1] but as confessions were heard in open church, it is more likely to have been an "anker-hold" or anchorite's cell.

PAINTING

The interior of many churches was enriched with paintings and sculpture. Most of the old paintings have disappeared, but those of Pickering Church still remain to remind us that pictures were used not only to adorn the building, but as a means of instructing worshippers, few, if any, of whom could understand the Latin Mass. They were painted between 1450-60, but remains of earlier work have been found in the north transept. The pictures in the nave were discovered under a coat of whitewash in 1851, but they so distracted the attention of the congregation that they were covered with a yellow wash which seriously injured the colours and outlines. This second covering has been removed and the paintings carefully restored. They extend along the north and south walls of the nave, and include sacred and profane subjects. Opposite the porch are the figures of St. George and St. Christopher, the latter carrying the infant Christ. Then come three scenes representing the episodes of Herod's feast. On the adjoining spandrel is a picture of the martyrdom of St. Edmund, whose body is pierced by fourteen arrows. Above this appear St. Thomas Becket and the knights who murdered him. The legend of St. Catherine of Alexandria, who was released by two angels from the wheel on which she was tortured, is painted on the south wall. Pictures shewing the seven acts of mercy, the agony, trial, crucifixion and burial of Christ, and Adam and Eve fill the narrow space above the windows.

The old wall paintings at Easby[2] are probably earlier than those of Pickering. They represent the Creation, Expulsion from Paradise, Adoration of the Kings, Descent from the Cross, Entombment and Resurrection. Remains of mediæval frescoes have been found at Muker,[3] and traces of non-pictorial wall painting may be seen at Ainderby Steeple.

CARVING

In many churches the heads of capitals and other prominent features were quaintly carved. The corbel tables of Coxwold and Great Ayton are of much interest. At Ingleby Greenhow and Marton-in-Cleveland the capitals of the nave arcade represent animals, possibly wild boars and wolves, which roamed the neighbouring woods when the church was built. On the south door

[1] "Little Guide to the North Riding," p. 371. [2] Richmondshire.
[3] Bogg's "Richmondshire," p. 374.

of Alne Church are carvings of a fox, a hyena, a dragon, all of which typify Satan ; Christ is represented by an eagle, a panther which faces the dragon, and by a caladrius, a wonderful bird of Palestine "which, when anyone is ill, can tell whether he will live or die." [1] Other carvings represent the Lamb of God, the signs of the Zodiac, Capricornus, and a man with an axe killing a pig, which was the symbol for December or November.[2] The lions which adorn the capitals of Kilburn Church were the arms of the Mowbrays of Thirsk, and the chequers of Brittany, the saltaire of Neville, the bend of Scrope, the asses of Ascough, the bars of Aske, the cross potence of the Lascelles are but a few instances of the armorial bearings which testify to the interest taken by the gentry in their Parish Churches.

TOMBS

Most of the churches contain tombs of considerable interest, of which only a few can be mentioned. The presence of the Tudor rose suggests that the famous Brus tomb [3] at Guisborough dates from the sixteenth century. On one side it contains statues of the Annandale branch of the house, separated by figures of the four evangelists. On the other are found figures of the Brus of Skelton, and between them of St. Augustine, Gregory the Great, Jerome and Ambrose. On one end is a carving of the Prior and Canons, the other was adorned with the statue of a king, but this has been lost. The Marmion tombs at Tanfield include a very fine alabaster tomb with figures of a man and his wife. It is probably a memorial of Robert de Marmion, who died about 1386, and his wife ; the knight is represented in mail armour with his feet resting on a lion ; his wife is in semi-religious dress, and her head reposes on a lioness.[4] Above the tomb is an excellent example of an iron herse, which was used to support a pall, and contains seven sconces for holding candles. The tomb of Brian FitzAlan in Bedale Church shows the change from chain to plate armour. The monument of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill in the Wyvill chapel in Masham Church is adorned with figures of his six sons and two daughters ; in that of Sir T. Hutton in Richmond Church the heart is pierced with twelve arrows, one for each of his children, and four are broken as a sign that four of them died before their father.[5]

The names of the humbler folk who were buried in their Parish Churches have long been forgotten, but an indication of their sex or calling is sometimes given on their gravestones. A sword on the gravestone in East Harlsey churchyard is a male emblem, and

[1] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XLII., p. 143. [2] "Little Guide to the North Riding," p. 41.
[3] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XIII., p. 226.
[4] "Vale of Mowbray," p. 121. "Little Guide to the North Riding," p. 372.
[5] Bogg's "Richmondshire."

not necessarily the sign of a soldier; the shears which appear on the same stone, and on another at Kirklevington, represent a woman. In Well churchyard a hammer and horseshoe mark the resting place of a local blacksmith; at Middleham a mitre and crozier are carved on the tombstone of Abbot Thornton of Jervaulx; a chalice at Hornby commemorates a priest who ministered to the parish in the Middle Ages.

BRASSES

A few churches of the North Riding contain monumental brasses which often illustrate the dress or armour of their period.[1] The brass of William de Aldborough in Aldborough Church dates from the time of Edward III., and shows the knight in his pointed helmet and gorget of chain mail with a surcoat covering his equipment. At Sessay "Master Thomas Magnus, Archdeacon of East Riding," appears in the dress of an ecclesiastic of the sixteenth century. A very fine double brass of Flemish workmanship remains in Topcliffe Church. It has two principal figures, male and female, and their civilian dress is of interest because most people of the time who were sufficiently important to be commemorated by brasses were either soldiers or ecclesiastics. The man wears close sleeves edged with fur; the woman a head-dress and veil, a wimple covering the throat, a mantle trimmed with fur and a gown with close, tightly-buttoned sleeves. The canopy displays the figures of God and Christ attended by angels bearing censers, and on each side of the main figures has been cut a coat of arms—azure, a fess indented between three crosses. A magnificent brass, also of Flemish workmanship, dating from about 1370 remains in Wensley Church. It bears the name of Sir Simon de Wensley,[2] and represents a priest in full vestments with chasuble, alb, maniple and stole. A full length brass in memory of Thomas Boynton, who died in 1523, and bearing his arms—a fess between three crescents—is preserved at Roxby[3]; and at Kirby Moorside another, of later date, commemorates Lady Brooke and her eleven children. In Easby[4] Church there remains a brass in memory of Eleanor Bowes, "the comfortable wife" of Robert Bowes of Aske, once English Ambassador to Scotland.

The woodwork added greatly to the beauty of the interior, and the parclose screen at Kirklevington, the stalls at Wensley are only two of many examples. The chancel screen, pulpit, stalls and pew ends were often carved by cunning workmen who found a worthy object of their skill. The bosses of the roof were

[1] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XVI.
[2] Priests were given the title of "Sir"—a translation of the Latin "dominus."
[3] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XLV. [4] "Richmondshire."

sometimes cut into quaint devices as at Coxwold, and the magnificent old roof at Thirsk shows how important a factor the roof was in the general scheme. Local churches contain little stained glass. Some of the best is to be found in the nave windows of Coxwold Church, and fragments remain at Raskelf and Sutton-on-the-Forest.

CHANTRIES AND CHAPELS

All the religious houses of the North Riding, with the exception of Mount Grace, were founded before 1300. By this date the growth of trade had led to a considerable increase in the wealth of the middle classes; pious merchants often used the profits of business to found a chantry or chapel, and the gentry of the time joined in the good work.

A chantry was, literally, a special service chanted by a priest, but the term came to denote the building in which the service was held. Before 1300 there were less than twelve chantries in the County of York, but within the next fifty years many were founded, and sixty-one were established between 1450 and 1500. Among the founders of chantries appears the name of William de Brus of Pickering, who, in 1337, received a licence "in consideration of one messuage and two bovates of land in the village of Middleton, near Pickering, for a certain chaplain to celebrate divine mysteries daily in the Church of God, St. Peter and St. Paul, Pickering, for the souls of the masters, William and Robert of Pickering, Adam de Bruce and Mathilda his wife." [1] "Sundry persons of the same parish" founded the chantry of Our Lady in Aldborough Church in 1335, and the "commonalty of Scarborough and Adam Clerk, a burgess," founded another of the same name.

Chantries were usually founded "to pray for the souls" of the founder and his relatives. Every important Parish Church had one or more. At Scarborough there were four, at Thirsk and Pickering three. They were often attached to altars, and nearly always built in churches, either in the aisles or adjoining the chancel, although at Topcliffe one to Our Lady was built in the churchyard. They were sometimes founded in castles; there were two at Seamer Castle in Pickering Lythe; Malton Castle has a chantry of St. James, and Sheriff Hutton one in honour of the Holy Trinity and Our Blessed Lady.

Chapels and chantries were sometimes founded in Parish Churches for the worship of some particular saint; sometimes they were built for general service in places which were difficult of access. Communication was not easy in the Middle Ages; devout travellers

[1] "Evolution of an English Town," p. 130.

G. E. Taylor.

PRIEST'S TOMBSTONE FROM KIRKLEVINGTON.
Showing Chalices.

G. E. Taylor.

See page 194.

BOSS FROM ROOF, COXWOLD CHURCH.

J. W. R. Punch.

See page 225.

MEDIÆVAL HOUSE, DANBY-IN-CLEVELAND.

G. E. Taylor.

See page 220.

OLD BRIDGE (*C.* 1290) AT DANBY.

Wheeled vehicles were required to use the adjacent ford.

occasionally had difficulty in finding a church in which to hear Mass; worshippers were often prevented by floods from attending their Parish Church. In 1233 Pope Gregory IX. authorised Archbishop Gray of York to build chapels and chantries in outlying places at distances varying from a quarter of a mile to four miles from the Parish Church. The priest celebrated mass in Pockley chantry whenever the people could not get to Helmsley Church "for the great inundance of waters." One of the Percys founded a chantry at Righton "because there is a water called Costa between his house and the Parish Church,[1] so that neither the said Percy nor his servants oft-times could come to the said Church.[2] The chantry of Our Lady at Boroughbridge was built for the convenience of the founders and also "for the ease of strangers repairing through the same, being one thoroughfare town of the King's Street leading from London to Carlisle and Berwick."

"Chantries founded on permanent endowments alienated to the chaplains, or to trustees on their behalf, were freehold benefices. Their chaplains were properly presented, instituted and inducted, and could not be dismissed by the rector or vicar. The power of the rector or vicar was exercised only over the hired chaplains whom he paid to serve the cure of souls in the Parish Church or its parochial chapels." [3]

Several priests ministered in the larger chantries, and in these cases a college of priests was often established. The collegiate chantry founded by Thomas de Thweng at Kirkleatham, near Redcar, in 1348, had twelve chaplains and four clerks subject to the authority of the rector. They lived in the rectory and took their meals at the rector's table. He gave them each year 20s., a robe of six ells of cloth, twelve quarters of coal, and twenty pounds of candles. Two flagons of the best ale were supplied to them in their chambers from All Saints to Candlemas. The college of priests founded by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., at Middleham Church continued for four hundred years, with some alteration in its status, and numbered Charles Kingsley among its canons. The head of the college was called the Dean, and the Rectory still bears the name of the Deanery.[4]

The chief duty of the priest was to sing masses for the soul of the founder and his friends, and to celebrate the obits or memorial services of benefactors on the anniversary of their death. The priests of chantries in the Parish Church assisted the rector in conducting the services, especially on Holy Days. At some chantries the priests were bound to teach the children of the neighbourhood in a day school. As a rule they had no secular duties, but sometimes

[1] Kirby Misperton. [2] *Y.A.J., op. cit.*
[3] Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson. [4] "Romantic Richmondshire," p. 297.

any surplus of revenue which remained after the priest had been paid was used for secular purposes. Surplus revenue of the chantry of St. John the Baptist at Malton was used to maintain one arch of the town bridge.

The chantry priests were usually men of good character and respectable position, but little learning. Their qualifications were noted by the Commissioners who surveyed chantries and chapels before their dissolution in the reign of Edward VI. The chantry priest at Northallerton Parish Church was "of honest conversation and quality, and of indifferent learning." The priest of the chapel of Cornborough in Sheriff Hutton was "of honest conversation and quality, and of mean learning," but three at Osmotherley were "of good learning . . . one being a scoler at Oxford."

ENDOWMENTS OF CHURCHES AND CHANTRIES

The endowments of churches and chantries were similar in kind, though far inferior in number and value to those of the religious houses. Gifts of land were common. The Parish Church of East Ayton, founded by William de Ayton in the twelfth century, was endowed with lands which afforded pasturage for eight oxen, eight cows, six horses and one hundred sheep, and the priest had the right of cutting thirty loads of turf each year from the donor's lands.[1] "William the Forester" left an acre and a half to Guisborough Church; in 1353 Edward III. gave to the burgesses of Scarborough certain lands for the repair of St. Mary's Church; at Malton "divers of the well disposed parishioners" left lands to maintain the service in the Chapel of St. Michael in the Parish Church. Land was left to provide "frankincense" at Whorlton, five lamps at Stainton, one at Crayke, a "torch" at Liverton and a candle at Stokesley. The parishioners of Pockley, near Helmsley, had a common stock of seven score ewes, and paid threepence a head, and one shilling for every ewe that died, to support the priest of the local chapel. The endowment of altar lights was common, and one testator left to Coatham Church "a nawter clothe and a kandlystik." Gifts of money were numerous; William Markynfield left £6 to maintain services in Northallerton Church "as his ancestors have always done in time past." £100 was left by Roger Bigod in 1388 to repair the Church at Settringham, and 20s. by Sir. Wm. Crathorne of Crathorne to repair the roof of the Parish Church. Other gifts were very varied; perhaps the most surprising was the "jak deffense," or war coat, left to three altars in Middlesbrough Church by Thomas Lynehouse of Linthorpe in 1453.

[1] "Pictorial Yorkshire," p. 82.

APPROPRIATIONS

Parish Churches were often appropriated to religious houses,[1] and their interests suffered greatly in consequence. Most of their income, including the tithe on corn, went to the superior house, and was not used for the benefit either of the vicar or parish. With the exception of the Augustinian canons the regular clergy did not, usually, conduct services outside their own monastery, and special permission from the Archbishop was necessary before a monk could so officiate. In 1452 Robert Godale, Prior of the Benedictine Cell at Middlesbrough, obtained permission for himself or his subordinates to serve the Parish Church because his cell had become so impoverished that it could not pay the salary of a secular vicar.

As a general rule secular clergy were made vicars of appropriated churches. The vicars were poor, and gladly augmented their inadequate stipends by making full use of any privileges they enjoyed. The vicar of Alne was entitled to receive eight loads of wood from the forest of Galtres, and to have free passage for his swine in time of mast.[2] The Vicar of Ingleby Arncliffe was supplied, free of charge, with all timber required for the repair of his house and hedges, and this was no small boon at a time when houses were built of wood. He had the right of pasturing his geese and cattle in the common pasture of the village, and similar rights were enjoyed by most parish priests.

When a church was appropriated to a religious house, the latter, as rector, was liable for the maintenance of the chancel. The monastery sometimes contributed to the repair of the fabric, but the chief burden fell upon the parishioners, who, though sincerely devoted to their church, naturally resented an arrangement which diverted most of its income to a wealthy body which bore only a small part of the cost of upkeep and repair. There was a growing tendency on the part of religious houses to shirk their obligations to dependent churches; the canons of Guisborough, in spite of the strong opposition of the Archbishop of York, secured from the Pope exemption from the duty of instituting vicarages in their churches at Guisborough, Danby and Ingleby Arncliffe.

The power of King and Pope pressed heavily on Parish Churches. Edward I. gave the Church of St. Mary's at Scarborough to the Abbey of Cîteaux for the maintenance for three days of the Abbots at the general meetings of the Cistercian Order. Tithes were exacted for the benefit of the Pope, or, with papal authority, for the benefit of the King, as in 1288, when Nicholas IV. gave to Edward I.

[1] Page 177. [2] *i.e.*, When the acorns fell in autumn.

for six years a tithe of all the benefices in England to defray the cost of a proposed expedition to the Holy Land. The valuation of benefices necessitated by "the taxation of Pope Nicholas" remained the standard rate of clerical tithes until Tudor times. We have seen how the Pope's claim to "provide" foreigners for English livings led to serious trouble in 1229.[1]

The general custom of pluralities caused great dissatisfaction. One vicar of Ingleby Arncliffe [2] held also the living of East Heslerton some forty miles away, and it was obviously impossible for him to serve both churches properly. The foundation of chantries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was partly due to the evils that arose when a single parish priest held several livings. Men desired to secure a resident minister on whom they could rely for the celebration of mass, for the comfort of the sick and the absolution of the dying.

MILITARY SERVICE

Parish priests, being holders of land, took their share in the defence of the country, and were required to furnish men-at-arms and archers in time of need. The rector of Stokesley supplied one man-at-arms and one archer, the vicar of Marske-by-the-Sea one archer, and the total contribution from the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Cleveland was ten men-at-arms and eighteen archers. At least one local parish priest saw service abroad, for in 1225 Archbishop Gray gave Gregory, the vicar of Feliskirk, leave of absence for three years that he might go on the Crusades.

Churches were sometimes used as parish armouries. Bows and arrows were kept in a room above the Brus Chapel in Pickering Church, and the grooves where the archers sharpened their arrows may still be seen in the groins of the roof. Similar marks are found in the porches of Northallerton, Thirsk, Great Ayton and many local churches, and these may be due to the belief that arrows so sharpened proved more efficacious against Scottish invaders than those for which a secular grindstone had been used. If we accept the alternative theory that the marks were made by the shuttles of weavers, we obtain a further proof of the close connection that existed between religion and business in the Middle Ages.

Churches served as a refuge for the inhabitants in case of a Scottish raid, and some were specially fortified for this purpose. The tower of Pickering Church is embattled, and the towers of Bedale, Spennithorne and Melsonby were obviously intended to be used as strongholds. The narrow entrance to Bedale Church tower was defended by a portcullis, the grooves of which still remain ;

[1] Page 81. [2] *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XVI., p. 127.

the second storey was a complete living room of the period with stone seats, wooden shutters, a fireplace and garderobe.[1]

The parishioners took a keen interest in their Parish Church. As a rule they had no legal authority over the incumbents, although Hugh de Puiset, Bishop of Durham, in 1174, gave the people of Northallerton the right of choosing their own vicars. But duties owed to the church were faithfully performed. The cost of maintenance was often borne by the parishioners, and those who could not give money helped in other ways. The poor of Ingleby Arncliffe picked the moss with which the roof was packed in the winter, and such humble duties, faithfully rendered, were an acceptable service.

The privilege of burial in the Parish Church was greatly valued, and special instructions were often given in a will for the burial of the testator. The church and often the place of the tomb were specified ; William Palliser of Sand Hutton, in his will of September, 1469, directed that his body should be buried " in the Church of Our Lady at Threske,[2] before the rood, where his mother lyeth." Instructions were given for the payment of mortuary fees, and for the due provision of candles for the service. John Wawan, a burgess of Scarborough, who lived at the end of the fourteenth century, left twenty shillings to the Parish Church, and directed that twenty-five pounds of wax should be burned round his body ; John Barker of Thirsk deemed four pounds of wax sufficient, and left twelve-pence to the Church of St. James and the same amount to the priest. In 1348 Thomas, the son of Richard of Pickering, left his " best animal " as the mortuary fee for the priest of Oswaldkirk. The burial feast was an important institution. A Linthorpe[3] man ordered, in 1453, that an ox, a quarter of wheat and a quarter of barley (for brewing beer) should be provided for his funeral feast, and in 1439 one Robert Thomson, " a pannierman " or driver of packhorses, left for the same purpose a calf, two sheep, half a quarter of wheat and three pecks of barley.

[1] McCall's " Bedale," p. 98. [2] Thirsk. [3] Middlesbrough.

CHAPTER XVIII

TOWN LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE GROWTH OF TOWNS

ONE of the most important causes of the growth of towns in the Middle Ages was the insecurity of the country districts. Bands of robbers lurked in the moorland forests, and highwaymen haunted the roads. Pickering Moors afforded a safe retreat to many outlaws. Robin Hood's Bay reminds us of the most famous outlaw of the times, but Nottinghamshire, not Yorkshire, was the scene of his operations. A Norman Castle was built at Hood to check the robbers of the Hambledon Hills, who did so much harm that in Henry II.'s reign a force of three hundred soldiers was sent against them. The farmers of the Vale of Mowbray drove their cattle into the Cleveland Hills to save them from the Scots, but the robbers of the Hills proved no less rapacious than foreign invaders, and many a traveller who escaped from the outlaws fell a victim to the wolves and wild boars which lurked in the forests and woodlands. The monks of Rievaulx received special permission to set traps for wolves in their land in Westerdale, and their shepherds carried horns to summon help if necessary "because of the wild beasts and bandits."[1] At the end of the fourteenth century thirteen wolves were slain, apparently at one time, in Whitby Forest, and their skins were tanned and presented to the Abbot. Life in the towns was not without its dangers, but their greater security attracted many inhabitants.

Serfs fled into towns because they would gain their freedom if they resided in towns for a year and a day; the servants and retainers of castle or monastery swelled the population.

Merchants took up their residence in towns, where their lives and property were safer than in the country, and trade flourished in spite of heavy tolls. The subsidy roll, which gives particulars of the collection of a property tax of one-fifteenth in 1301, includes among the inhabitants of Whitby, weavers, dyers, masons, bakers, cooks, brewers, skinners, barbers, grocers, fowlers and a shoemaker.[2] Of the three goldsmiths working in Yorkshire at the time, one,

[1] "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 159. [2] "Memorials of Old Whitby," Atkinson, p. 274.

William the Goldsmith, lived at Whitby.[1] Kirkby's Inquest gives a return of the value of goods taxed for subsidy at Bedale in 1287, and shows that the craftsmen of the day possessed very little personal property. Ralph the Tanner was assessed at 3s. 10d., Robert the Baker at 2s. 5d., John the Carpenter at 11d., Alan the Blacksmith at 10d., William the Tailor at only 6d.

The growth of trade led to the immigration of foreigners, whose presence was strongly resented by native merchants. Many came from the Low Countries, and it is possible that Finkle Street, in Thirsk, commemorates a small colony of Flemings who settled in the town. Bishop Beaumont of Durham gave to certain "alienigenis," who may have been Italians, land in his manors of Northallerton, Howden and Riccall. But the most important of the foreigners were the Jews of York, who gained considerable influence owing to their command of money, for which needy barons mortgaged their lands. The Jewish quarter was sacked and its inhabitants massacred in 1290 (page 76), but before many years passed the Jews returned to York, rebuilt the ruined Jewry, and amassed great wealth. The most famous was Aaron of York. He represented York in the Jewish Parliament which arranged for the payment of subsidies to Henry III. His transaction with Thomas, the Steward of the Bishop of Durham, at Northallerton, illustrates his business method. Thomas borrowed £6 from Aaron on the security of certain land, and undertook to give him "for every pound for each week two pence for interest." He failed to keep up his payments, and the land passed into the possession of Aaron, from whom it was redeemed by the Prior and Convent of Durham. Richard de Percy of Dunsley gave two bovates of land to the Abbot and Abbey of Whitby in return for the money payment by which "they liberated me and my lands from the Jews."[2] Henry III. allowed Aaron to become rich, and then extorted from him 200 marks in gold and 30,000 marks in silver.[3]

There were few towns that had not existed in Anglian and Danish times, but under the Norman and Plantagenet Kings the old towns grew larger owing to new conditions. The castle of a great baron formed the nucleus of such towns as Middleham, Richmond, Thirsk, Helmsley and Kirby Moorside. The religious houses partly account for the growth of Whitby, Guisborough and Coxwold. Northallerton was the chief trading centre of the Vale of Mowbray, and Bedale, which Leland called "a fair market towne," owed its importance to its situation on the cross roads from Northallerton, Wensley and Ripon. Boroughbridge flourished owing to its position on the "King's highway." Pickering was the chief town of the

[1] "The Old Seaport of Whitby," Gaskin, p. 217.
[2] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. II., p. 387.
[3] Math. Paris, Vol. V., p. 136.

Vale, and in its castle the Earls of Lancaster kept royal state. The castle of the Vescis and the Carmelite priory promoted the development of Malton. Whitby, Scarborough, Coatham and Yarm were flourishing ports.

There are several examples of townships which in the Middle Ages were of some extent, but have since decayed or disappeared. In Henry VIII.'s reign Leland found that Seamer was "a great uplandish (*i.e.*, inland) toune." The castle of the Percys made Topcliffe an important place, but both Seamer and Topcliffe have long been overshadowed by their more successful neighbours. Leake, once a township of 1500 inhabitants,[1] never recovered from the Scottish raid in 1322. Ricalf on Riccall Moor and Preston in Pickering Lythe were mentioned in Domesday, but have completely disappeared; a few traces of the moat that surrounded the manor house are all that is left of Ravensthorpe in the wapentake of Birdforth; in the early Middle Ages Thoresby in Richmondshire was a large and important town.[2]

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

The history of English towns in the early Middle Ages is the story of a long struggle for independence. In most cases towns were regarded as forming part of the demesne of some lord, lay or ecclesiastical, and the burgesses tried with varying degrees of success to secure rights and privileges from the lord. In all cases the sheriffs opposed the movement, which would have removed from their jurisdiction a very valuable portion of the shires. The history of the North Riding towns during our period affords excellent illustrations of the progress of the struggle. Scarborough became a "free" town, holding its privileges directly from the Crown and not from a Lord of the Manor; at Whitby the Abbot maintained his authority unimpaired; at Richmond and Northallerton the burgesses gained a considerable measure of independence in return for money payments to the Lord of the Manor.

SCARBOROUGH

Scarborough owed its original charter of freedom to Henry II., and paid him and his successors an annual ferm or rent. The original payment was fourpence a year for every house the gable of which abutted on the street, and sixpence for every house which fronted the street.[3] In the early part of the fourteenth century the annual rent amounted to £66, but Richard II., who

[1] "Vale of Mowbray," p. 345. [2] Bogg's "Richmondshire," p. 618.
[3] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. IV., p. 85.

enjoyed in Yorkshire a popularity he little deserved, reduced it to £56.[1]

The burgesses, who by royal charter were put into the position of lords of the manor, gained the rights of vetoing grants of land to religious communities, of building on waste lands, and of granting licences to fishermen. They had to answer in person at the Exchequer for payments due to the King, and were relieved of the duty of making such payments through the sheriffs of the county, who were forbidden to "distrain upon them or to interfere in any way in the borough."[2] The King's Justices in Eyre were required to come within the borough to try Common Pleas relating to Scarborough, and no burgess was to plead outside the borough except in cases of tenure of land "foreign to the borough."[3] In 1225 the burgesses gained the power of levying tolls of 1s. on every great vessel, 6d. on a small vessel, 2d. on every boat, and 1d. on every cart that brought goods into the town for the space of three years.[4] They had the right of levying half a peck on every quarter of corn or grain brought to market for consumption in the town, and the petty tolls included two pence per cartload of vegetables and two pence for every stall in the market.[5] They received from Henry V., in 1414, the right of determining by their own bailiffs all legal questions arising in the town. They received royal authority for free passage through Pickering Forest, and were freed from attendance at forest courts and from the lawing of dogs.[6] They were exempted from toll, bridge dues and all customs in England, Anjou, Normandy, Aquitaine and Poitou.

The sheriffs strongly resented the limitation of their authority. In 1275 the sheriff seized the rents the burgesses had received for some houses they had built, and took money paid to them for permission to dry nets on the shore and for the use of the common pasture. This income should have been used to repair the quay, but owing to the sheriff's action the quay was not repaired, and, in consequence, the safety of mariners was imperilled and houses were destroyed by floods. Inquiry showed that most of these rents belonged to the burgesses, although rent for nets dried on the castle moat belonged to the King, and the sheriff was compelled to make restitution.[7] Earlier in the reign of Henry III. the burgesses had succeeded in restraining the sheriff from seizing cattle sent into the town for slaughter and from taking corn, salt and fish, at half the market price.[8] The burgesses of Scarborough, who were

1 "History of Scarborough," p. 42.
2 "North Riding Records," *op. cit.*
3 Hinderwell, "History of Scarborough," p. 357.
4 Hinderwell, "History of Scarborough," p. 171.
5 "History of Scarborough," p. 249.
6 "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. IV., p. 90. "Lawing" was the removal of a portion of the pad of a dog's foot to prevent it from hunting.
7 "Archæological Records," Vol. XII., p. 163.
8 "Archæological Records," Vol. XII., p. 123.

independent of any Lord of the Manor, succeeded in maintaining their independence of the sheriff, and in preserving the freedom of their town.

WHITBY

Whitby was never a free town, and remained under the authority of the Abbot, who was Lord of the Manor. The Abbot was supreme, "the houses were his, the market was his, the port was his," [1] and the townsfolk were bound to attend his court. Whitby had its local courts, but these were manorial. Its burgesses had no exemption from tolls in England or abroad. Merchants flocked to Whitby Fair, but the right to hold the fair belonged, not to the burgesses, but to the Abbot,[2] and the Abbot appointed the town officials. The Abbot owned the whole town, subject to the King's authority, and there were no free tenants. Tenants paid for their holdings money payments varying from twopence to sixpence a year, or payments in kind such as a sparrowhawk in its first year's plumage,[3] a rose in the time of roses, or a pound of pepper.[4] If a tenant wished to sell his holding, the Abbot had the right to resume occupancy of the property, and a change of tenants did not relieve the land from payment of the Abbot's dues.

The townspeople made several attempts to secure independence, and at the end of the twelfth century induced Abbot Richard de Waterville to grant a charter and make Whitby a free town.[5] But they enjoyed their liberty for only ten years, and Richard's successor persuaded King John, in 1201, partly by arguments, partly by a payment of £100 to annul the charter as "inconsistent with the dignity of the church at Whitby." But the position of the burgesses was greatly improved by the grant of burgage by the Abbot. Burgage was a fixed payment of rent or services, and in Whitby amounted to fivepence for each toft. The tenant holding by burgage tenure could not be required to pay more than the rent specified, and as long as his rent was paid his possession was secure. Thus there arose in Whitby (and Northallerton) burgage tenants corresponding to the socagers in country districts.

[1] Young's "Whitby," p. 411.
[2] Young's "Whitby," p. 411.
[3] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 126.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[5] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 211.

NORTHALLERTON

Northallerton was governed by the bailiff of the Bishop of Durham, but the inhabitants as early as 1334 had gained important privileges. An inquiry made through twelve local jurors in that year showed that the men of Northallerton were free men and of free condition. They held the town of the Bishop, and by payment of forty silver marks had secured the profits of the local fair and the right to hold the assizes of bread and beer.[1]

RICHMOND

Richmond owed its power of municipal government to Count Alan III., who, in 1145, in return for a yearly rent of £29, gave the burgesses the right of fixing their own tolls, holding markets, electing their own officers, and making by-laws.[2] Henry VI. extended the powers of the burgesses, but the town did not get a charter of incorporation until the reign of Charles II.

GOVERNMENT

The government of a free borough was vested in the burgesses, and at Scarborough the "Common House" consisted of two bailiffs, two coroners, four chamberlains, and thirty-six capital burgesses.[3] The method of election made the common house a close corporation, and the members too often sacrificed the good of the town to their own advantage. There was a continual dispute between the few and the many, and several times the Court of King's Bench had to settle differences. At one time rival parties elected two sets of bailiffs who held office for six years; at another seventeen members of the corporation were under arrest at the suit of the remainder. A considerable portion of the town revenues was spent on legal proceedings, and on one occasion the mace and seal were impounded for debt. A new arrangement was made in 1485, when Henry VII. appointed a mayor, sheriff and twelve aldermen, and no further changes were made for many years.[4] In towns which purchased privileges by annual payments to the Lord of the Manor the government was carried on by representative burgesses.

Several of the towns in the North Riding were represented in Parliament. In 1295 Malton, Pickering, Scarborough, Thirsk and Yarm sent each two members. Malton, Northallerton and Scarborough were represented in 1298, and Scarborough and Boroughbridge in 1300. From that date until the beginning of Elizabeth's

[1] Ingledew's "Northallerton," p. 99. [2] "Romantic Richmondshire," p. 74.
[3] "History of Scarborough," p. 195. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

reign, Scarborough was the only town in the Riding that sent members to Parliament, except in 1329, when Richmond was represented.[1]

GUILDS

To protect their interests craftsmen formed the craft guilds which played so important a part in the Middle Ages. At Scarborough twenty guilds had been formed, with the consent of the corporation, as early as 1466, and these included guilds of every important craft. They aimed at protecting their members against unfair competition and at ensuring good work. No man could serve as a craftsman unless he had been duly apprenticed. Every member of the bakers' guild required a licence from the bailiff before he could bake, and contributed sixpence a year to the guild funds; surveyors of the guild had the right to weigh all bread exposed for sale, and did all they could to ensure the supply of "good, wholesome bread." There were thirteen guilds at Richmond,[2] including those of the Mercers, Grocers, Cappers, Tanners, Fullers and Dyers.

Religious Guilds were established also to relieve the poor and promote the common welfare. Pious testators at Whitby about the year 1400 left bequests to the Guild of the Holy Trinity, the Guild of the Holy Cross, the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, and the Guild of St. Christopher.[3]

MARKETS AND FAIRS

The right to hold fairs and markets was granted by royal licence to the Lord of the Manor or to the burgesses of a free town, and often proved a valuable privilege, as the grantee was entitled to a toll on all goods exposed for sale. Richmond secured a market charter towards the end of the twelfth century. In 1251, Alan, the son of Brian FitzAlan, received royal authority for holding a weekly market at Bedale every Tuesday and an annual fair on the eve, day and morrow of the Ascension. Edward I. gave to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, the right to hold a fair at Pickering on the Feast of the Holy Cross, to James Wensley (1306) the right to hold a weekly market at Wensley, and to Nicholas de Meynell a charter for a fair at Whorlton. The Mowbrays were empowered (in 1222) to hold a market at Hovingham, the Ros at Helmsley, the Latimers at Sinnington. The Percys secured a fair for Seamer (1383), the Abbot of Jervaulx for East Witton (1306), and the Nevilles for Middleham (*c.* 1387).

[1] "Vict. County Hist., Vol. III., p. 403. [2] "Romantic Richmondshire," p. 74.
[3] Gaskin's "Whitby," p. 99.

Public markets were held by royal licence in the chief townships once a week, often on a Sunday, and sometimes in the churchyard. In the morning the people attended church, in the afternoon they bought and sold. But the connection between church and market was gradually broken. In 1320 John, Lord Fauconberg, obtained a royal licence to change Skelton market from Sunday to Saturday. In 1285 a law was passed forbidding the markets to be held in churchyards, and in 1448 Sunday markets were prohibited. Henceforth they were held in open spaces around a market cross, which was set up to remind merchants "not to defraud in cheapening." At Richmond there were three market crosses, at one of which wheat was sold, at another barley, at the third oats. Old market crosses still survive at Helmsley, Kirby Moorside, Middleham and other places in the North Riding.

A fair was a great market, and was held once or twice a year, usually on a Saint's Day. It lasted several days (at Egton eight, at Lythe nine, at Masham four), and was frequented by traders from all parts of England, often by those of Western Europe. "Easterling" merchants from Ghent, Ypres and the Baltic towns were familiar figures at Scarborough.

Inland towns dealt mainly in agricultural produce. Middleham Cattle Fair was one of the largest in the North of England, and the Swine Market in Middleham still retains its old name. Masham Fair was famous for its sheep; the neighbouring lead mines accounted for the pewter that was sold in large quantities at Bedale.[1]

At the fairs of Scarborough, and to a less extent Whitby, a considerable trade was carried on in cloth from Flanders and Germany, and the fairs afforded to rich and poor the means of buying luxuries and necessaries which could not be bought at the weekly market of local produce. One of the most famous fairs of Yorkshire was the Barnaby Fair of Boroughbridge, which lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century.

To supply the needs of the crowds that thronged the fair, anyone was allowed to sell ale or beer provided he hung a bush over his door as a sign of his business, and this custom gave rise to the saying that "good wine needs no bush."

A special court of pie powder [2] was instituted to try offenders caught in the act of committing an offence, and before they could wipe the dust from their feet. The need of a court of summary jurisdiction was obvious, for, in addition to the legitimate traders, the fair attracted less desirable visitors in the shape of gipsies, tinkers, pedlars and also minstrels, jugglers, morris dancers and mummers whose performances were very popular.

[1] Bogg's "Richmondshire," p. 483. [2] Fr. *pieds poudrés*.

PROTECTION

Trade was carefully protected during the Middle Ages by stringent regulations which hampered the competition of outsiders. Tolls were levied on incoming merchandise and used for the benefit of the town, at Whitby for the repair of the bridge and quay, at Scarborough for paving the streets, and at York for the repair of the walls and fortifications. The tolls paid on stock and goods at Richmond market do not appear unduly heavy. One half-penny was paid for every five fat hogs, every hundred skins of sheep shorn, of goats, lambs, rabbits and foxes, for a horse-load of cloth and a horse-load of honey. The charge for 1000 fagots or a cartload of honey was one penny, and twice as much was due for a cartload of lead.[1] At Whitby aliens paid dues of threepence in the pound on imported merchandise except wines, cloth and wax, which were subject to special rates.[2] In order that all should have the same chance, strict regulations were made for markets, and merchants were forbidden to "forestall" the market by buying goods on the way to market; to "regrate" it by buying goods to sell again within four miles; to "engross" the market by buying large quantities of merchandise to sell it again. In 1394 a proclamation of Richard II. ordered the bailiffs of Whitby to stop foreigners from exporting herrings from the town.[3]

At Scarborough a bell was rung as a signal for the market to begin, and no burgess or other person could buy any wheat, barley, fine small wheat, mixed grain, peas or oats before the first bell rang, nor until the goods were brought to the market assigned for the same. All burgesses of the town were to have a reasonable part and share in all sales made in their presence, and no man or woman was allowed to buy or sell at Scarborough "until he shall make satisfaction to the commonalty of the town." Offenders were to pay a fine of twelve pence, and those who could not pay the fine were to sit in the stocks for one day and one night.

PORTS

In inland towns the sale of the surplus produce formed the staple trade, and in early Norman times the coast towns relied mainly on the same source for their profits. The fishing trade, one of the chief factors in the growth of the ports, received a great impetus from the stricter observance of Lent that followed from the reforming zeal of great churchmen. Salmon and salmon trout

[1] "Romantic Richmondshire," p. 74.
[2] "The Old Seaport of Whitby," Gaskin, p. 206.
[3] Gaskin, quoting "Foedera," 1728, Vol. V., p. 788.

abounded in the Tees and the Esk ; cod were caught on the Dogger Bank ; lobsters and crabs were found in great abundance on the shore, and the herring fishery became an important and profitable undertaking.

Yarm, Coatham, Whitby and Scarborough were the chief ports of the district, and it is interesting to note that in 1206 Yarm was a place of considerable importance. In that year a tax of $\frac{1}{15}$ was levied on the goods of merchants, and to this Yarm paid £42 17s. 0d., Scarborough £22 0s. 4d., Coatham 16s. 11d., and Whitby only 4s. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Whitby made great progress, partly owing to the development of its herring fishery, partly because of the growth of the woollen trade with Flanders, partly because of the Hundred Years' War with France, which stimulated shipbuilding and created a demand for transport.

In 1301 an assessment was made of the personal property of those merchants of Whitby whose goods were worth more than forty pence. The inquiry showed that there were ninety-six merchants liable to assessment, and that they possessed property worth £245. In 1341 the property of the chief merchants of Scarborough was assessed at £246. But there were no merchant princes in the North Riding in the fourteenth century. The goods of the richest merchant in Whitby in 1301 were worth only £15, those of another £11 10s. 0d., and the majority of those liable to taxation were assessed at about £3. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the trade of Whitby had grown so greatly that the total value of the imports and exports for eighteen weeks was worth not less than £10,000 in modern money.[1]

The growing wealth of the towns is shewn by the contributions they were required to make for the wars against Scotland and France. In 1301 Whitby was required to supply one ship, fully manned and equipped, for the Scottish war, and in 1322 and 1396 the town helped to collect vessels for the King's service. Between 1300 and 1337 Scarborough four times supplied ships for naval operations off the coast of Scotland, and in 1346 one ship and nineteen soldiers were sent from Scarborough to help in the siege of Calais.[2] But the ports shared the hardships as well as the glory of naval war, and the danger from pirates was ever present. In 1377 Andrew Mercer, a famous pirate, was captured and imprisoned in Scarborough. His son collected a fleet of Scottish, French and Spanish vessels, attacked the town and carried off several ships from the harbour. Alderman Philpot of London came to the help of the Yorkshiremen, who could get no help

[1] Gaskin, "The Old Seaport of Whitby," p. 211.
[2] "History of Scarborough," pp. 349 and 350.

from the King, and fitted out at his own expense a fleet with which he defeated Mercer, recaptured the Scarborough vessels, and took fifteen of the Spanish.

A MODERN SURVIVAL

A most interesting example of the survival of mediæval custom took place recently at Yarm. The manor of Yarm was originally given by King John to Peter de Brus I. On the failure of the male line of the Brus family, Yarm passed to Walter de Fauconberg, who had married Agnes de Brus. It was held by the Fauconbergs until 1800, when it was purchased by the Meynells. On the death of the late Lord of the Manor, Mr. Edgar Meynell, his sister Miss Louiza Mary Meynell became Lady of the Manor. The Steward of the Manor, Mr. W. C. Fawcett, attended Yarm Fair on October 19th, 1923, and, after the bailiff had blown his horn to secure attention, announced publicly that Miss Meynell had succeeded to the manor, and read the following proclamation: "Louiza Mary Meynell gives notice that her fair in and for the said manor will be held by her this day and to-morrow for the sale of cattle, goods and merchandise, and will continue till to-morrow evening until six o'clock when all persons selling will close their booths and stalls."

STREETS

Most of the trade which was not done in the open fair or market was carried on by pedlars, or in squalid booths, and the conditions of life in the towns were little, if at all, better than those of the country districts. The streets consisted of a succession of tofts, or enclosures, with small houses arranged with no care for alignment. With the growth of population the open spaces of the tofts were built up, and a Whitby householder was heavily fined for allowing her house to overhang the "boundaries" of her neighbour, Nicholas the waggoner, "whereby the said Nicholas is hindered from raising his building" on his own land. It was sometimes difficult to indicate accurately the position of any particular house, and to us there is an element of humour in such descriptions as "a messuage in the town of South Kilvington lying by the toft of Sir William the Chaplain, son of William the Clerk, on the side of the sun in the corner."

New buildings followed the crooked and winding course of the old streets, which in the course of time had become overlaid with filth, and proved hotbeds of pestilence; one-third of the population of Whitby perished in the Black Death, 1348-9. The streets were badly made; they were crooked, for they grew bit

by bit, and utterly filthy. Although occasionally, as in Scarborough,[1] efforts were made to compel householders to clean the portions adjoining their houses, the use of the streets as a receptacle for refuse of all kinds, and indeed as common sewers, made the sanitary conditions deplorable.

HOUSES

Within the houses there was little comfort. All lights and fires were extinguished when the curfew rang at eight o'clock, and although this regulation tended to prevent conflagrations it caused distinct hardship in the long winter nights. The houses were insanitary, badly built and scantily furnished. The lists of furniture given in wills show how little furniture there was even in the houses of people of some means. We have detailed enumeration of chests, tables, settles, spinning wheels, iron implements, beds and bedding, cloths, cupboards, dishes, candlesticks, ewers and articles of clothing. Often a child's portion consisted of a share in the furniture and little else. Gregory Conyers of Whitby left, in 1540, to his son George "my great counter in the hall and all the boards and forms belonging to same, . . . also in the parlour one fair table, one new long settle, one new cupboard, one feather bed with sheets, blankets and covering, and also my black gown."[2] John Smith of Northallerton, in 1499, left,[3] "to Elizabeth Smith, my daughter, two dribblers and a dish of pewter, a mattress, two sheets, a gown and a kettle." Clothing was carefully divided among the legatees, and silver belts are often the subject of special bequest. John Danby of Northallerton left to a kinsman, in 1444,[4] a silver gilt girdle and one murray gown. John Ledum of Whitby (1530) left to one friend "a belt dight with silver," to another "a jacket and payre of hose."[5] People of position often left plate and armour to their legatees. Thomas Dacre of Whorlton bequeathed "a suit of milan" to his son Philip, and to his son Thomas "A gilt cup with a cover and crowns which I had of King Edward's gift." Many wills show kindly thought for the poor, or regard for the public interest. John Ledum[6] left £4 6s. 8d. as a marriage portion for thirteen poor maidens of Whitby, ten chaldrons of coal for ten years for the poor, and twenty stones of hemp to be given to poor fishermen. The mortuary fee was often supplemented by legacies to churches and chantries, and there

1 "History of Scarborough," p. 36.
2 "Gaskin's "Whitby," p. 90.
3 Ingledew's "Northallerton," p. 327.
4 Ingledew's "Northallerton," p. 324.
5 Gaskin, quoting "Surtees Test. Ebor," Vol. V., p. 300.
6 *Ibid.*

is abundant evidence that the claims of the church were not forgotten. Bequests for the repair of roads and bridges were not uncommon; 40s. were left "for the extension of the bridge at Yafford," [1] "for Whitby Bridge an oak," and many examples of similar gifts were found in local wills.

Although towns afforded greater security for life and property than the country districts, they did not escape the general turbulence of the Middle Ages. Local history supplies no parallel to the massacre of the Jews of York in 1190, but the records are full of references to deeds of violence. Some are comparatively trifling, such as the destruction of the mill of the Hospital of St. James at Northallerton, and theft of goods to the value of £10.[2] Others led to the loss of many lives and the destruction of much property. At Scarborough [3] in 1381 the imposition of the poll tax of 1s., which was the immediate cause of the Peasants' Revolt, caused serious riots, for which a fine of 900 marks was exacted 400 paid by the burgesses and 500 by eleven of the richest merchants.

The turbulence of the time and the slight regard paid to human life partly account for the ferocious punishments which were enforced. Death was the penalty for even trifling offences, and at least six gallows were erected in the city of York or the immediate neighbourhood. Every prisoner in York Castle in Edward III.'s time was required on entering the Castle to pay one penny for a cord; "if he be found guilty the gaoler shall find him a rope, if he be set free he loses his penny." [4] Mutilation was a common punishment and took many forms, the loss of eyes, of ears, of a limb, the slitting of the nose, the cutting of the upper lip. Men who had received serious injuries by accident often gained the reputation of criminals, and a servant of Edward I., whose ear had been cut off by the Scots, very wisely obtained a certificate to this effect, "so that he may suffer no sinister suspicion thereby." For minor offences the pillory or the stocks were deemed sufficient punishment, and scolding women, whom mediæval Englishmen held in abhorrence, were obliged to wear an iron gag, or were set on a ducking stool and ducked in the village pond.

[1] Ingledew's "Northallerton," p. 324.
[2] "Archæological Records," Vol. XVII., under 1327.
[3] "History of Scarborough," p. 39.
[4] Cooper, "Castle of York," p. 94.

CHAPTER XIX

COUNTRY LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE ORIGIN OF THE MANOR

AUTHORITIES differ as to the origin of the Manorial System which played so important a part in mediæval England. Some maintain that the Manor had its origin in the Roman villæ, or country estates which were cultivated by slaves according to the three-field system, and that the Teutonic invaders adopted this system of cultivation, which was not found in the lands whence they came. Others hold that the English manor grew out of the Teutonic mark, in which free village communities cultivated the land which they held in common. Fortunately the origin of the Manor is a minor point. On the more important question of its organisation there is substantial agreement.

The Lord of the Manor had two outstanding rights; he owned the land, subject to the feudal rights of his overlord and the supreme authority of the universal landlord, the King; he held a manorial court.

MANOR LAND

Manors varied greatly in extent. The Manor of Northallerton included forty-four carucates, Skelton thirteen, Coxwold ten, that of Topcliffe was three miles long and two broad.[1] The land of the manor was divided into two parts. The Demesne was that part which the lord retained in his own hands. The remainder, the Villenagium, belonged to the lord, but his absolute ownership was limited by the customary rights of his tenants and by the principle of common cultivation.

The Villenagium consisted of three portions, arable or common field, meadow and common. The arable was divided into three fields, which would grow wheat one year, barley or oats a second, and lie fallow a third. Hay required for animals was grown in the manor meadow. All possessed the right of feeding stock on the common, which was composed mainly of woodland or waste.

[1] "Vale of Mowbray," p. 222.

The village greens, which form so pleasant a feature of many villages, are remnants of the old unappropriated common lands which have never belonged to any separate owner.

The three fields of arable land were divided into strips, each representing one day's ploughing of a team of eight oxen, and these strips were shared between the lord and the tenants. It seems probable that the word Wandale, which is found as a local place name in the North Riding, was used to denote such a share in the common field. Traces of these old divisions may still be seen at Helmsley, near Loftus, and to the east of the railway between York and Tollerton. The strips were separated by grass grown "baulks," which were not cultivated, and belonged absolutely to the Lord of the Manor. Apparently the right to these strips could be transferred. Nicholas, the son of Richard, sold one strip of two acres and one rood in the Common Field of Guisborough for an annual payment of 12s. Portions of common fields were often given to religious houses, *e.g.*, William de Amanderville gave an acre in the Common Field of Newsan to Rievaulx Abbey.[1] After harvest sheep were often turned in to graze, but the undue use of this privilege was strongly resented. In 1290 the Archdeacon of Richmond summoned Sir Ivo de Etton of Gilling for impounding four hundred sheep in Gilling. The jurors found that a certain field was enclosed for the people of the township from Michaelmas till Martinmas, and that the Archdeacon's shepherd had placed his sheep in the field before Martinmas. They therefore decided that Sir Ivo was justified in impounding the sheep.[2]

The legal right to common pasture originated in a grant from the Lord of the Manor,[3] and this view is supported by the case of some Alne tenants who had rights of common "according to the will of the lord." But the right of common, when granted, could not be withdrawn without consent of the tenants; no enclosures of moorland can be made even to-day except by consent of those who have the right of common pasture upon it, and a small fine is paid in acknowledgment of the right.

SOCAGERS

The tenants included socagers and villeins. The former were generally, though not invariably, free men,[4] holding their land on payment in money or kind to the lord. It is possible that socage tenure in the North of England was due to the seizure of manors by the Danes, who replaced the Saxon villeins by their own followers.

1 "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 78.
2 *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XIX., p. 115.
3 Medley, "Const. Hist.," p. 53.
4 "Arch. Rev." Vol. XII., p. 301.

The latter refused to undertake the base services rendered by the Saxons, and became the predecessors of the socagers of later times.

Payment in money was made in silver, and, if the coins had been duly assayed, was called "blanche ferme," as distinct from an ordinary cash payment or "pecunia numerata." A socager who made his payments regularly could not be dispossessed of his tenancy by the lord, and socage holdings were practically copyholds held on condition of payment of an annual charge or tax. Unlike tenure by knight service, socage was essentially non-military in character, and it was free from the feudal obligations of marriage and wardship. Socagers could appeal to royal as well as to manorial courts for protection. In the case of free socage the rent paid might be in money or kind, and in some cases "bond socagers" gave personal service as well as payment in return for their lands. The word socage is derived from the Anglo-Saxon "soc," a liberty or privilege, and implies the obligation to render certain definite services which the lord could not extend.

The number of socagers included in local entries in the Domesday Book is not large as compared with the villeins and bordars, but they formed an important class even in early Norman times. In Cleveland there were 12 socagers, 172 villeins and 40 bordars.[1] In Skutterskelf there were 9 socagers and 18 villeins, at Hutton 11 socagers, 5 villeins and 4 bordars.

The conditions of socage tenure in later times may be illustrated from the case of the widow Beatrice, a socager or free tenant of the Manor of Easingwold. She held one toft and two oxgangs, and paid 4s. a year, one cock and three hens at Christmas, and forty eggs at Easter. She had to find a man to mow the lord's demesne for one day, and to make hay, carry and house it in the manor grange. The labourer was to receive one meal a day. Three hundred eels were the total annual rent paid by Rahob de Bovington for twelve bovates in Peter de Brus' Manor.[2] Roger, Abbot of Whitby (1222-1244), gave a toft and croft in Battersby for eighteen pence a year to one William Nunde, who should erect buildings on the land and remain on it, but on his death the land and buildings were to revert to Whitby.[3] In 1468 Thomas of Ansom, a free tenant living at Hawnby, paid £7 6s. 8d. a year, but no services, for "a house with a fireplace, a grange, a cattlehouse, a helmehouse, a field, a close with big oaks growing in it containing in circuit a mile and more."

In some cases the payment for land was made in spices. At Kirkby's Inquest it was found that Walter de Thorpe[4] paid his

[1] Atkinson's "Cleveland," Vol. I., p. 120.
[2] "Ingleby Records," Vol. XVI.
[3] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 300.
[4] Nunthorpe.

lord for fourteen bovates one pound of cinnamon, one pound of pepper, and one penny on Christmas Day, in addition to services. John de Bulford paid Roger de Mowbray a pound of pepper for one carucate at Bulford, near Kirby Moorside.[1]

The service of the Horngarth,[2] paid by Alexander, a socager of Sneaton, to the Abbey of Whitby, and by many others, both socagers and villeins, is of special interest. It was an obligation to repair the fences of the arable fields after the spring sowing, in order to protect the young crops from cattle, sheep and goats. The origin of the name is doubtful. It may have referred to a horn blown to summon workers, or to the horned stock whose incursions were prevented by the fence. It carried with it the right of wardship or marriage in respect of the tenant, and is still commemorated by the erection of the Horngarth, or penny hedge, on the shore at Whitby on Ascension Eve. An old time legend tells, with more than the usual inaccuracy, that the Horngarth at Whitby was originally erected by order of Abbot Sedman of Whitby as a penance by Percy of Sneaton, Bruce of Ugglebarnby, and Allatson of Fylingdales, who, in 1159, had cruelly murdered a holy hermit. There was never an Abbot Sedman, and in the year specified there was no Percy of Sneaton, no Bruce of Ugglebarnby, no Allatson of Fylingdales. The service of the Horngarth was not peculiar to Whitby, but was paid by socagers in other places, and long before 1159. The story was probably invented by one of the wandering story-tellers of the Middle Ages, whose tales beguiled the tedium of long winter evenings.

VILLEINS

Socage was a free tenure not unbecoming to a soldier or a freeman. Villeinage was a base tenure fit for peasants. Although the villein class may be dealt with as a whole, there was some distinction between different members. Privileged villeins, who held by villein socage, rendered certain base services which were definite and limited in amount. Pure villeins, or "nativi," were men of servile birth, and were liable to pay any services the lord required; they "knew not in the evening what was to be done in the morning." Among the latter may be included the bordars and cottars, who, in return for a cottage or garden, carried out the more menial work of the lord's demesne.

The villein in Norman times could get redress only in the manorial court. He belonged to his lord, but not even the lord could take his instruments of husbandry or do injury to his life

[1] "Kirkby's Inquest," Surtees, p. 130.
[2] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 325, and Vol. II., p. 415.

or limb. The pure villein was bound to the soil. He could not leave the Manor, formed part of the freehold, and was sold with the land. Legally he could hold no property, but practically all villeins owned some property, and some villeins owned much. He paid fines to the lord for permission to educate his children, to sell his horse or ox, to make his son a priest.

But the lot of the villein gradually improved. Many secured their freedom by payment to the lord, by residence for a year and a day in a chartered town, or by manumission. The Canons of Guisborough received permission from Archbishop Zouche to set free Robert, the son of Robert of East Coatham. The sons of Tobern, a cottar of Guisborough, held land by free tenure. The tendency to commute manorial service for wages turned many villeins into free labourers. But the process of enfranchisement was slow, although it was accelerated by the Black Death. The Canons of Guisborough held serfs as late as 1347, and villeinage lasted until Tudor times.

Local records throw much light on the villeinage of the Middle Ages.

LOCAL CUSTOMS

The amount of land held by bordars and cottars varied. The Domesday Book enumerates one villein and three bordars who had one plough and cultivated ten acres in the manor of Faceby. At Malton one villein cultivated sixteen acres. At Skelton twelve villeins had twenty acres of meadow. At a later period the usual holding of those depending on Guisborough Priory was a toft and a croft, that is a house standing in a small plot of land and a small enclosure, and the total area was usually half an acre or an acre. The cottars of Whitby held about the same amount of land at Middlesbrough.[1] Others held more land. In Bransdale the holding varied in extent from twelve to forty acres, and the average holding of a villein was about thirty acres.

RENT

The money payments made by the lowest classes were very small. At Hackness cottars paid sixpence per annum, and at Middlesbrough one shilling to Whitby for their holdings, but villeins who held a bovate at Middlesbrough paid ten shillings. A cottar at Kirby Moorside who had one toft paid 12d. at Easter and 12d. at Michaelmas to his lord. Twenty-five "nativi" of

1 "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. II., pages 365 to 370, gives much interesting information about the conditions of villein tenure.

the same Manor paid £4 14s. 0d. for lands in Bransdale.[1] In addition to these annual payments, known as "tol," special payments were made from time to time, such as "tace," a fine paid by Whitby villeins on taking Abbey lands, and "merchet," the payment made when the villein's daughter was married.

The rent, which was paid in kind, varied greatly, but hens and eggs were the commonest items. Each cottar at Hackness paid two hens and twenty eggs, but at Middlesbrough the cottars gave twice the number, together with a special payment of a wood-hen at Christmas. The cottars of Hackness paid altogether thirty hens and three hundred eggs a year to the Abbey. The inhabitants of Bowes paid the Earls of Richmond six hens a year for the right of gathering dry wood in their forests.[2] A young sparrowhawk was given annually to Whitby Abbey for some land in Fyling.[3] In well-wooded places nuts were often given in payment. A tenant at Kirby Moorside gave two "strikes," or bushels of nuts, worth sixpence, and a fowl worth a penny.[4] "Multure" was flour paid for corn ground in the lord's mill, and the regular payment in North-East Yorkshire was one thirteenth of the amount ground.

SERVICES

In addition to the payments in money or kind, every villein owed services to his lord. These included week-work, or labour for two or three days a week throughout the year, and "precariæ" or boon days, so called because originally the land was held "at ben," *i.e.*, at the lord's will. Boon days were extra services at harvest when the tenant's whole time was at the lord's disposal.[5] These services were rendered, either on the demesne proper of the lord, which corresponded to the home farm, or in the lord's share of the common field, and it is noteworthy that while the lord had a right to service the villein had an equal right to employment.

There was considerable variety in the number of days on which service was rendered and in the nature of the services. A cottar at Kirby Moorside [6] had to "mow for one day, to hoe for one day, to turn hay for one day and to reap in autumn for three days," and the pecuniary value of his work was one penny a day. At Middlesbrough cottars owed twelve boon days a year to Guisborough Priory,[7] but at Upleatham only four were required, and on two the

1 "Yorkshire Archæological Record," Vol. XII., p. 249.
2 Bogg's "Romantic Richmondshire," p. 338.
3 "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 126.
4 "Yorkshire Archæological Record," Vol. XII., p. 250.
5 Medley, "Constit. Hist." p. 48.
6 "Yorkshire Archæological Record," Vol. XII., p. 250.
7 "Guisborough Chartulary."

Prior had to provide food for the labourers. At Ormesby the labourers received one penny a day and "a big dinner;" and this example affords an early illustration of the paid labour that in time was to supersede villein services. One Thomas de Wiles had to serve the Prior four days in autumn with carts and one with ploughs, "and there was to be a full meal." [1] The services of the cottars of Whitby included in one instance two days' hoeing, four days' reaping, four days' making a mow of corn, two days' hay-making. In other cases cottars had to lead a load of turf or wood, to carry wood or drive animals for slaughter when the Abbot paid a visit, to mend mills and repair milldams, to catch the Abbot's mares and colts that ran wild in the forest, to supply wood to mend the Abbot's wagon, to make sheep folds of wattles and to repair the granges.

There are many instances of the gift to religious houses of serfs, who, in spite of legal incapacity, often held property. Ralph de Stuteville gave Ralph, son of Roger of Hemlington, with all his family and all his goods, to Guisborough Priory for two marks of silver. Marmaduke de Thweng gave "Matilda, daughter of William, the son of Ralph my serf, with all her family and goods." John de Hasil gave "Tobern, my man and his wife, and their sons and daughters, with all their family and goods and chattels, and a toft which the said Tobern held of me." [2] The degraded position of the people in question is shewn by two facts. The family of a serf is always described as his "sequela," and the same word is used to denote the young of cattle.[3] The awkward repetition of the names of father and grandfather as a means of identification shows that surnames were not used in the case of people of humble station.

Occasional disputes arose as to liability to service. In 1307 Thomas, son of John of Wymbelton, was put in the stocks by Sir Ivo de Etton of Gilling, and brought an action for assault. The defendant pleaded that Thomas, being a villein, had refused to perform his duty of working at the harvest, and therefore he had put him in the stocks, "as he had a perfect right to do." The plaintiff maintained that he was a "free man of free status and condition," and therefore not liable to the service in question.[4]

Every manorial tenant was obliged to attend the hundred or wapentake Court, and this attendance was known as forinsec or foreign service, because it was due outside of the manor. Forinsec service was gradually commuted for a money payment called the fine of the wapentake.

1 "Guisborough Chartulary." 2 "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. II., p. 260.
3 *Cf.* "Concessit autem Abbas viginti equas silvestres cum sequela sua." "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 218.
4 *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XIX., p. 178.

THE COURT BARON

Every tenant, free or unfree, was bound to attend the lord's court as a condition of holding land, and attendance was usually required once in three weeks. Every Manor had its Court Baron, held in the hall of the manor house and often called the Hall Mote. The Court Baron, over which the lord or his steward presided, framed by-laws for the "by" or township, and appointed by-law men to enforce them. The election of the by-law men was made by the freeholders, and it is quite possible that in the North Riding this custom originated among the Danes who held the land before the Norman Conquest. The Court Baron was concerned with civil business. It settled the terms on which lands were held, dealt with enclosures and breaches of common right, and exercised jurisdiction over small debts. It nominally supervised the repair of roads and bridges, for the cost of which the tenants of adjoining lands were liable; but this duty was often neglected, and the roads were usually maintained, if they were maintained at all, by the religious houses.[1] Bridges were often built by the Lord of the Manor; the Duck Bridge at Danby which was built by the Latimers of Danby in the fourteenth century, is still in use, and portions of the bridge Bishop Skirlaw of Durham built at Yarm at the end of the same century are incorporated in the present structure. Catterick Bridge was completed in 1425 at a cost of £173 6s. 8d., and a gown apiece to the contractors according to their degree. It was to be "made sufficient and workmanly in masoncraft, accord and in substance to Barnacastell brigge."[2] Generous testators sometimes left bequests for the repair of bridges. The Will of Nicholas Blackburn of Richmond, who was Lord Mayor of York in 1413, contained a codicil "that if by any chance or default in workmanship fall, also God forbid that it do so, Catterick Bridge, Kexby Bridge, Thornton or Skip Bridge, within four years of my decease," £100 should be applied to the necessary repairs.

THE COURT ROLL

The civil business of the Court Baron was settled according to the customs prevailing in the Manor which were declared by a jury of tenants. The court was sometimes called the Customary Court and the tenants "custumarii." All transactions were entered on the Court Roll, and this in time became a complete record of the customs of the Manor. Such entries tended to fix conditions of

[1] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. III., p. 23.
[2] Longstaffe's "Richmondshire," p. 41.

tenure; the lord could demand no more, the tenant could give no less than the customs provided. Every tenant received as his title deed a copy of that part of the Court Roll which referred to his own holding, and the document clearly set forth the customs of the manor to which he would be required to conform. Thus the villein became the copyholder who held his lands, not by the will of the lord, but by a copy of the Court Roll. Thomas Burgess of Stokesley made a return of the property "of which I am seized by copy of the Court Roll to me and my heirs."

COURT LEET

The Court Leet was a criminal court, and existed "only in those manors to which the King had granted petty criminal jurisdiction." As a royal Court it ranked higher than the Court Baron. It could deal with all felonies except homicide, and this explains why Marmaduke de Thweng of Kilton, who was accused of homicide in 1204, could not be tried by the Court Leet, but paid 100s. to be kept in the custody of twelve lawful men until the arrival of the royal justices. The court dealt with breaches of the peace and also with cases of adultery, eavesdropping and scolds. It exercised some supervision over trade by the assizes of bread and ale which regulated the sale of these commodities, and appointed officers to see that bread was properly weighed, and that the ale, brewed without hops by every tenant, was of good quality.

MODERN SURVIVALS

The work of the Court Baron and the Court Leet is now largely done by Quarter Sessions in criminal cases, and by County Councils in administration. But the continuance of common land led to the continuance of the means of dealing with it, and quaint survivals remind us of the old system. A "Customary Court" was found at Ampleforth as late as 1717, and Courts Leet still meet in places (*e.g.*, Stockton-on-Tees) where copyhold tenure is in force. In 1911 a farmer in the Vale of Pickering was fined 4s. by the Pickering Court Leet for not cleaning out a water course on his land. Evidence was given that the court still met every two years, appointed an "ale-taster," a "leather searcher," and a "market searcher," and considered the reports of juries as to the condition of water courses and other matters of local interest. A Court Leet is still held at Danby in Cleveland. This Court has its steward, its bailiff, its jury of freeholders. It deals with such questions as manor boundaries, encroachments on common lands and the undue exercise of rights of pasture. No enclosure of common land may

be made without consent of the court, which requires the payment of a small fine for every new "intake."

PROFITS OF COURTS

These local courts were a source of profit to the Lords of the Manor. A special payment was made by the locality when the assizes of bread and ale were held, and Hackness paid 5s. a year to the Abbot of Whitby for this privilege. The profits of the Courts in the Manor of Whorlton were valued at 40s. for the year 1357, and those of more extensive Manors would be much larger.

Cases were not infrequent in which the Lords of the Manor treated the suitors of their courts with scant consideration. In 1200 Peter de Brus I., who owed £1000 to King John in respect of an exchange of lands, tried to raise part of the amount through his manorial courts. The suitors complained that they were not judged by their fellows, and that unreasonable fines were inflicted for offences. Peter therefore issued a charter promising that the knights and free tenants of the wapentake of Langbaurgh should be subject only to the judgment of the wapentake, and that they should be fined only in proportion to their property and in accordance with the gravity of their offence. He further promised to check the rapacity of his servants, and ordered that his chief bailiff was to have only three horses, two from the Brus lands in Cleveland and one from Whitby Strand." [1]

Attendance at Court was sometimes found rather an irksome duty, and the freeholders of Thornaby prayed that they might be excused from attending the Prior of Guisborough's Court, which was held at Thornaby every three weeks. They wished to attend only when a royal writ was received, when a thief was tried, or when the rights of the freemen of the manor were under consideration.

Sometimes the Courts exceeded their powers, and in 1166 the Court Leet of Northallerton was fined ten marks for putting a man to the judgment of water without knowledge or presence of the King's servant.

FRANKPLEDGE

In the Middle Ages an English village was practically a common farm, and the inhabitants were united by community of interest in farming. They were further united by the conditions of legal procedure. For criminal cases they were divided into groups of ten families, mutually responsible for crimes committed by any member of the group. The members were called "Franci

[1] "Guisborough Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 92.

Plegii," and at stated times a "view of frankpledge" was taken in the Court Leet with which, as has been stated, the decision of criminal cases rested. Another bond of union was the jury system, by which twelve men, acting as representatives of their township, gave evidence on disputed questions.

GUILDS

A further bond of union was found in guilds for religious or secular purposes. Religious guilds were formed to mend vestments, to repair the church books, and to assist the work of the church in other ways. There is no doubt that secular guilds existed in country districts, although they never became as important as the craft guilds, which played so great a part in the history of towns. Guild houses existed in many places—at Linthorpe,[1] Hackness, Fylingdales and Ingleby Greenhow, to take only a few examples.

THE VILLAGERS

All the inhabitants of the Manor were connected directly or indirectly with farming. Even the parish priest had his rights of common. Of those not actively engaged in agriculture the miller was the most important. Tenants were required to get all their corn ground at the lord's mill, paying at mills belonging to Whitby Abbey one-thirteenth, at those of Guisborough Priory one-sixteenth of the flour as "multure" or grinding fee. So strictly was the rule enforced that the people of Ormesby and East Bolton in Wensleydale were[2] forbidden to have hand mills in their possession lest the revenue of the lord's mill should suffer. Mills were valuable possessions, and Hugh de Baliol paid the Abbot of Whitby 15s. as rent for the Mill at Ingleby.[3]

In most places the work of the smith, the builder and, to some extent, the carpenter was hampered by the heavy cost of iron, although local workmen suffered less than most from this disadvantage, owing to the early working of the Cleveland ironstone. But the idea of a capitalist craftsman who supplies to order a finished article was apparently unknown in the Middle Ages. The customer supplied the material, the craftsman was a journeyman whose skilled labour made up the material into a house, a cart, a plough or whatever was required.

[1] Near Middlesbrough. [2] "Rievaulx Chartulary," p. 93.
[3] "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. I., p. 298.

PRICES

Money was scarce in the Middle Ages. The value of land varied considerably. In 1280 the rent of land at Catterick was sixteen pence an acre, and the rent of two forges was sixpence.[1] In the thirteenth century 8d. was paid as rent for an acre of arable land at Coatham, and fourteenpence for an acre of meadow. The inventory of the property of the Templars of Pen Hill in 1307 supplies interesting information. Wool was worth 5s. 9d. a stone, and the neighbouring moors afforded excellent grazing ground. A shorn sheep was worth from twelve to fifteenpence, and the value of the wool was five times that of the carcase. A heifer was worth twelvepence, a milch cow 6s., a cart horse from 8s. to 10s. Forty-five stones of cheese were worth 33s.; a quarter of oats 2s.; thirty doves tenpence.[2] A Coatham fishing boat was worth 12s. to 14s.[3] In 1395 horses cost from 16s. to 20s., although £6 was paid for a riding horse for the Abbot of Whitby. Cows cost from 5s. 6d. to 10s., hogs about 3s., calves from sixteen to twentypence, sheep from 1s. to 1s. 6d. Fourpence was a fair price for a lamb or a young pig.[4]

Agricultural labourers received a penny or three halfpence a day and a good dinner, which was worth another penny. A thatcher was paid threepence a day, a quarryman twopence halfpenny. Fourpence was the usual price for mowing an acre of land, but as much as eightpence might be paid if it lay in a remote spot. The Whitby register records payment to plumbers and glaziers at the rate of 1s. 4d. and 1s. 2d. a week, carpenters were paid threepence or threepence halfpenny a day, and masons sixpence. Women received threepence a week for milking ewes in Wensleydale. As a general rule skilled workmen received from twopence to threepence a day, unskilled workmen and agricultural labourers half this amount.

HOUSING

The manor house was a substantial building, probably of stone, less frequently of brick, for the use of brick, which had been discontinued after the departure of the Romans, was not generally revived until the fourteenth century. But the houses of even the higher classes of tenants afforded inadequate accommodation. They were built on a wooden frame of strong oak timbers taken in accordance with the right of housebote, or without any right at all,

[1] "Romantic Richmondshire," p. 137.
[2] "Romantic Richmondshire," p. 423.
[3] Leland, p. 23.
[4] For prices current in 1395 see "Whitby Chartulary," Vol. II., p. 61 .

from the nearest forest. At the gable ends were two forks of slanting beams which formed a triangle with the floor. These were bound together by a tie beam, and a ridge beam ran from gable to gable. The forks were not straight, but bulged outwards at the bottom, thus adding to the size of the house. The interior length of one such house in Danby was 17 feet 6 inches, and its breadth at the floor level was 16 feet 10 inches.[1] In later times the house was enlarged by the addition of an upper storey and of a fireplace, but it seems certain that the original dwelling consisted only of a single, moderately sized room. Close to every house was a midden, the drainage from which polluted the stream on which most townships were built.

HEALTH

Such conditions of life were fatal to morality, to decency and to health. The mortality due to utter ignorance of sanitation and to the lack of medical attendance, save such as the monks afforded, was increased by the inadequate supply of fresh meat. Mediæval farmers knew little, if anything, of the value of root crops as winter fodder for cattle, or as food for men. It was not until the first half of the eighteenth century that turnips were introduced into England by Sir Robert Walpole's brother-in-law, "Turnip" Townshend. In the Middle Ages there was not enough fodder to feed all the stock through the winter, and many beasts were slaughtered and salted at the end of autumn. The dovecote still standing at Guisborough Priory reminds us that the Lord of the Manor could rely upon doves as a change from the salt meat which formed the staple diet of the winter, but the right of keeping doves belonged to the lord alone.

Ignorance of the rudiments of sanitation caused fever; scurvy and leprosy, two of the commonest diseases of the Middle Ages, were largely due to the consumption of salt meat. In low-lying places ague and rheumatic diseases claimed many victims. Plague was an ever-present danger, and the Charnel Garth at Scarborough may have been the burial place of its victims.[2] Occasionally pestilence ravaged the land. In 1315, a year of famine and plague, the living "could scarce bury the dead." In the Black Death of 1349 one-third of the people of this district perished. Nor were the poor the only victims, for in 1361 John de Mowbray died of plague in York, and Henry, Earl of Lancaster, died of the same disease in the same year.

The Black Death made its appearance in the North Riding in May 1349, and was at its height from June to August. The

[1] Atkinson, "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish," Appendix H, p. 453.
[2] "Scarborough," p. 123.

mortality was so great that the old churchyards were filled, and new churchyards were dedicated at Ayton, Wilton, Seamer, Brotton and Easby,[1] while the old one at Guisborough was extended. Many parish priests fell victims to the great pestilence, and thirty-six died in the Archdeaconry of Cleveland in the year ending March 31st, 1350.[2] The Abbots of Byland and Rievaulx and the Prior of Marton-on-the-Forest also died; the chantry of thirteen priests, which Thomas de Thweng founded at Kirkleatham in 1348, was closed because there were not enough priests to fill the stalls. Thirty-five per cent. of the parish clergy of the North Riding perished. The mortality was greatest in the Vales of Mowbray and York, where the proportion of dead was 51.51 per cent.; in Ryedale, including the Vale of Pickering, the figure was 28.28 per cent., and in the moorland district of Cleveland 21.42 per cent. Owing to the lack of beneficed clergy many livings passed into the hands of the religious houses, and curates often superseded resident vicars.

The Black Death had important economic effects. The villein, whose position had been greatly improved by the introduction of copyhold tenure, had sometimes commuted the services he owed for a money payment. The Lords of the Manor had often used hired labourers to cultivate their land, and had paid them wages for their work. But so many had perished in the Black Death that the villeins found that all their efforts were needed to cultivate their own holdings, and they were very unwilling to continue to give any services at all to the lord. They demanded that land should be let at a fixed rent of fourpence an acre, and the villein thus became in time the tenant farmer. The lords came to rely more and more on hired labour to cultivate the demesne, and the agricultural labourer took his place in the life of the country. But the cost of labour had become so heavy, owing to the Black Death, that landlords found they could make more money by raising sheep than by tilling the ground, for "the profit of the fleece was greater than the profit of the plough." So they began to enclose the common lands of the Manor and to turn them into sheep runs. This process went on for about three hundred years, and was one of the causes of the break up of the old manorial system.

The bracing air of the North York moors did something to check disease, and the ages of the witnesses in a Whitby lawsuit of the thirteenth century show that some at least of the population reached a ripe old age. Five were sixty years old, one seventy-four, one eighty, and one, "Moses of Whitby," was said to be "aged more than a hundred years." But it was difficult to prove age, and when an inquiry was held as to the age of Henry le Scrope,

[1] All in Cleveland.
[2] Hamilton Thompson, "Archæological Journal," Vol. XXI., No. 2, pp. 97-154.

who died in 1420, one witness professed to remember the date of baptism because he carried some of the sacred vessels at the ceremony, another fixed the date by a hurricane which wrought great damage on the same day, another associated the event with a wonderful catch of 160 trout.[1] Even if we admit a reasonable doubt whether Moses could have proved his age, we must allow that occasionally the hardy inhabitants of the moors lived long in spite of most adverse conditions.

[1] "Longstaffe's Richmondshire," p. 31.

CHAPTER XX

THE FORESTS

A FOREST is "a certain territory of woody grounds and fruitful pastures, privileged for wild beasts and fowls of the forest chase and warren to rest in, in the safe protection of the King for his princely delight and pleasure." A forest did not, therefore, consist solely of woods. It included arable and pasture land and villages, and such names as Sutton-on-the-Forest and Marton-on-the-Forest still remain, although most of the forest of Galtres, from which they took their names, has disappeared. The forests originally were un-enclosed woodlands which the Norman Kings took as part of their demesne.

In the Middle Ages the forests, which in earlier times had made much of the North Riding inaccessible, still covered a wide area. Whitby Forest was seven miles long and three broad, Pickering twenty-four by six; Danby Forest extended over nine square miles, and the Forest of Galtres stretched for twenty miles from the walls of York to Aldborough. As late as the end of the eighteenth century it was said that a squirrel could go from Commondale to Glaisdale, a distance of eight miles, without touching the ground.[1] The Forest of Wensleydale, extending from Bainbridge to Mallerstang, was eighteen miles long and six broad, and with it were connected the small Forests of Arkengarthdale and Bishopdale. The "New" Forest stretched from Kirby Ravensworth to Stainmoor, and covered the greater part of Swaledale.

Much of the old forest land has now been brought under cultivation, but in many places the woods still remain, especially on the hills. Even when all the ground has been cleared, traces of the forests are to be found beneath the surface. The remains of three forests were found during drainage operations in Danby parish, and the "black lands" of this district are composed largely of such remains.[2] The old slag tips, which are found in great numbers on the Cleveland moors, afford further evidence of the extent of the forests which supplied the large amount of wood used by mediæval iron smelters. The repeated occurrence of the name "thwaite," a forest clearing, confirms the theory that in early times most of the North Riding was covered with forests.

[1] Atkinson, "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish," p. 409.
[2] Atkinson, "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish," p. 411.

The red deer were carefully preserved, but seem to have been replaced in the Forest of Galtres by fallow deer about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Forest of Pickering was well stocked with deer and was famous for its wild boars. The red deer remained longer in the western forests than anywhere else in England, and were found in Swaledale as late as 1723. Wolves were a great danger. The monks removed from Fors to safer quarters at Jervaulx, partly because wolves carried off their cattle at Fors; the Foresters at Bainbridge brought their cattle into shelter every night for fear of wolves, which were found at Marske, near Richmond, as late as 1369.

Travellers had to take special precautions to protect themselves from wild beasts and from robbers and outlaws who found refuge in the forests. Those passing through the Forest of Galtres made the journey in large bodies, and paid a small toll to the guards who protected them on their way. To guide travellers by night, lights were kindled in the tower of All Saints' Church at York, and horns were blown at Bainbridge and at the Preceptory in Stainton Dale.

Hornblowing was a feature of forest life. Travellers who had lost their way or found themselves in danger blew horns to summon help; horns were blown when animals were moved from one forest pasture to another as proof of the legality of the action; the Foresters blew horns to announce their arrival.

The King, who owned all the land, claimed special authority over the forests. These were subject, not to the Common Law of the land, but to Forest Laws, which inflicted heavy and cruel punishments on criminals who interfered with the King's deer. Under William I., "a cruel man who loved wild beasts as if he were their father,"[1] and Henry I., blinding and mutilation were common punishments; men lost their eyes for killing wild boars in the Forest of Galtres. Henry II., in 1184, passed the Assize of the Forest, the first regular code of Forest Laws. This provided that no one living within the forest should possess bows and arrows, hounds or harriers, without special permission.

OFFICIALS OF THE FOREST

From 1238 the general administration of the forests was placed in the hands of two justices, one for the district north, the other for the district south of the Trent,[2] but the work depended largely upon local officials.

The chief official of the forests was the Master Forester,[3] who

[1] "Roger of Wendover," Vol. II., p. 23.
[2] Turner, "Select Pleas of the Forest," p. xiv.
[3] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. IV., p. xiv.

was independent of the sheriff, and responsible originally to the King alone. The forests were often divided into wards, Pickering being divided into the East and West Wards, and a Forester had charge of each ward.

The Foresters had the right of raising the hue and cry against offenders, and were not liable to punishment if a criminal was killed while resisting their authority. They were paid about £1 a year, but their income was greatly increased by perquisites. They claimed the bark and strippings of trees given to the tenants of the manor for building purposes; they often took money from men passing through the forest, and demanded food and drink from the inhabitants or neighbours of the forests, especially from religious houses. The Forester of Inglewood claimed food and drink every Friday at the table of the grooms of St. Mary's Abbey, York, and the right to carry away a flagon of the best ale in the abbot's cellar, two tallow candles from the abbot's chamber, a bushel of oats for his horse and a loaf of black bread for his dog. On delivering to inhabitants the firewood to which they were entitled, the Foresters of Pickering demanded a hen as their fee, and they had the right to the left shoulder of every deer slain in the forest. All men, including the clergy, were liable to attend the Forest Courts when summoned by the Master Forester.

The Verderers looked after the vert or greenwood, attended the Forest Courts and kept the roll of the courts.[1] Agisters made arrangements for the grazing of cattle and pigs within the forest limits. Pigs were allowed to feed on fallen acorns during the mast season, from September 15th to November 18th, when one penny was charged for the "pannage" of a pig a year old and a halfpenny for a pig six months old.[2] The Regarders determined the bounds of the forests, and held a survey or regard of the forest at every Forest Eyre.[3] A regard was a searching investigation. The Regarders who viewed the Forest of Pickering in 1310 inspected enclosures and waste land, examined eyries of goshawks, sparrow-hawks and falcons, inquired about iron mines and the conditions of smelting. They visited seaports near the forest and took information as to the shipping of timber. They estimated the amount of honey gathered in the woods, and ascertained which of the inhabitants had greyhounds and bows and arrows.[4] The Foresters of Wensleydale[5] were specially charged to protect mast-bearing trees which provided food for pigs, and to secure an adequate supply of beans for winter fodder for deer, while special officials called Bigri[6] were responsible for bees and the provision of wax and honey.

[1] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. XXI. [2] *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. xxiv. [4] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. II., p. 232.
[5] Barker's "Wensleydale," p. 23. [6] *i.e.*, Apigeri.

Every forty days the Verderers held a Court of Wardmote to try men accused by the Foresters of minor offences. They also presided over a Court of Swanimote, which was an assembly of the Foresters to make arrangements about pasture, to receive rents for grazing and to protect the deer during the fawning season.[1] Once in three years, and, after the twelfth century, at longer intervals, a Court of Justice Seat or Forest Eyre was held. At this court the Regarders presented a report of their regard, and the cases sent up for trial by the Verderers were decided.

The whole system of the Forest Laws was most unpopular, mainly because it made the Common Law of no effect over a large portion of the country. The nobles objected strongly to interference with their rights of hunting. The Forest Courts inflicted much hardship on all who lived under their jurisdiction, and the officials were often corrupt. Some of the worst abuses were redressed by Magna Carta, and in the reign of Henry III. the Charter of the Forest provided that none should lose life or limb for breaches of the Forest Laws.

EXEMPTIONS AND PRIVILEGES

There were many cases of exemptions from Forest Laws, and these mitigated the evils of the system. The King sometimes granted forests, or portions of them, to great landowners. Henry III. gave Pickering Forest to his son Edmund Crouchback. In earlier times the Abbot of Whitby owned Whitby Forest, and gave a part of it, with all the stags and hinds and pigs, to Henry I., who added it to the Royal Forests. John gave this property back to the Abbey.[2] The Forest of Arkengarthdale belonged to the lords of Kirby Ravensworth; the lords of Middleham held the forest of Wensleydale on condition of keeping the forest and maintaining twelve Foresters at Bainbridge.

The barons frequently received special permission to reserve "chases" for their own hunting, or to enclose a large area as a park. Thomas de Wake had a free chase for fox, hare, wild cat and badger within the boundaries of his barony at Middleton. In 1391 Henry FitzHugh received permission to enclose two hundred acres of land to make a park around his castle of Ravensworth.[3]

In 1387 Richard II. allowed Ralph de Neville of Raskelf, afterwards first Earl of Westmorland, to enclose his wood at Raskelf, near to the King's forest of Galtres, and to construct there a park.

1 Turner, "Select Pleas of the Forest," p. xxvii.
2 "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. IV., p. 108.
3 "Vict. County Hist.," p. 188, citing Pat. 14, Ric. II., pt. II., m. 23. Bogg, "Romantic Richmondshire," p. 190, states that portions of the wall of this park are still standing, but this is incorrect, as the walls he mentions are not mediæval.

The park at Kirby Moorside was one league in circumference, and was supposed to contain "seven score beests."

The barons often allowed their sub-tenants to hunt in their forests; about 1200 Henry FitzHervey, Lord of Cotherstone, gave his tenant, Robert de Lascelles, permission to hunt in his forest, on condition that he sent a servant to Cotherstone Castle to notify his intention of hunting, so that Henry's Forester could accompany him.[1]

Those who were unable to secure a park often received rights of free warren. This privilege carried the right of hunting over their own lands, but other huntsmen who were chasing a deer might continue the chase if the animal ran into a free warren. Grants of free warren were very common. Peter de Mauley III. obtained such a grant for Egton in 1245, Nicholas de Meynell for Whorlton in 1269 and Castle Levington in 1285, Walter de Fauconberg for his demesne lands in Skelton, Marske, Upleatham and Redcar in 1280. These grants were always limited by the reservation of royal rights. Although Nicholas de Meynell received the right of "free chace in warren of stags, does, fallow deer or other beasts of the wood" in Whorlton, Greenhow, Seamer and Eston, the grant was given on condition that "these lands be not within the bounds of our forest."

Sometimes special rights were granted in the Royal Forests. In 1281 Nicholas de Meynell, whose bad character did not prevent him from gaining the favour of Edward I., received permission to hunt with his own hounds the fox and hare in the Forest of Galtres. Edward III. gave to his servant Adam de Walton one hundred and twenty acres in the same forest with right of pasture, on condition of carrying a bow when the King went hunting.

Special exemptions were granted to religious houses. The monks of Rievaulx had the right of fishing in the Costa, Rye and Derwent in the Forest of Pickering.[2] They could enclose lands, build houses and graze their cattle within its boundaries. They were excused attendance at many of the Forest Assizes. The Knights Hospitallers of Feliskirk, the Monks of Rievaulx, the Dean and Chapter of York, and the Canons of Malton were exempted from the duty of "lawing" their dogs, that is, of cutting off the pad of the forefoot to prevent them from chasing deer.[3] The monks of Jervaulx had special permission to keep mastiffs in the Forest of Wensley to protect their cattle from the attacks of wild beasts. Henry III. gave the Knights Templars the privilege of taking "sufficient timber for the use of their house when they will."[4]

[1] Whitaker, "Richmondshire," Vol. I., p. 139.
[2] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. III., pp. 8, 139.
[3] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. III., pp. 127, 141.
[4] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. IV., p. 114.

Sometimes these privileges were revoked owing to injury to the forest. The master and brethren of St. Leonard's Hospital, York, long enjoyed the right of taking timber to repair their houses,[1] and wood for fuel[2] and for repair of hedges,[3] from the Forest of Galtres. They had also the right of using branches of fallen oaks for charcoal burning. But in 1461 the Crown gave them the Castle Mills at York in exchange for these rights, as it was found that the noise made by the charcoal burners frightened the deer, and the destruction of trees deprived them of cover. The tithe of the forests was often granted to religious houses, and Henry I. gave to the Abbey of St. Mary in York a tithe of venison throughout all the County of York.[4]

The poorer people benefited indirectly by the grants of chase and free warren to the nobles, because the Forest Law applied only to Royal Forests, and the more humane Common Law was enforced elsewhere. They had many rights in the Forest of Pickering. These included the right, under certain conditions, of cutting timber in the forests for fencing and fuel, for building and for repairing their wagons and implements. At certain periods they could lop the lower branches for fodder. They had the right of feeding their pigs on the acorns during the proper season,[5] and of pasturing cows and horses in the forests. In 1222 Brian de Insula was ordered to allow the inhabitants of Easingwold to enjoy their full rights of pasturage in the Forest of Galtres. But these rights were cancelled during the "fence month," from fifteen days before to fifteen days after Midsummer Day, when the deer were fawning; and people were forbidden to make their fences so high that does and fawns could not leap over and eat their crops, and were liable to a fine of one penny for each head of cattle straying in unlawful places. The inhabitants were very jealous of their privileges, and occasionally resisted the encroachment of others with little regard for the law. The Duchy of Lancaster sometimes gave permission to strangers to make clearings in the Forest of Pickering, but the men of the forest, in spite of the licence, pulled down the fences of the clearings and compelled the hated "foreigners" to withdraw.

A HUNTING EXPEDITION

A hunting expedition was an important function. The hunters met, if possible, "in a fair meadow well green, where fair trees grow all about, the one far from the other, and a clear well or some running water besides." The servants laid the "towells and bord cloths" on the grass and "set diverse meates upon a great

[1] Housebote. [2] Firebote. [3] Haybote.
[4] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. III., p. 118.
[5] Pannage.

plate after the Lord's power." An army of beaters drove the game into a confined space surrounded by nets or palisades, where it was slain by the hunters. Payments were made to those assisting in the hunt. Edward II. gave the King's huntsmen £1, and 10s. to John of Pickering," who followed the King a whole day when he hunted the stag in Pickering chace." [1] When the King hunted he often gave alms, and Edward III., at a hunt in Pickering Forest in 1334, gave three halfpence each to a hundred [2] poor folk. On the evening of the hunt a banquet was held. Edward II., after a day's hunting, feasted in Whorlton Castle with Nicholas de Meynell, and gave 4s. to two singing maidens, Alice the Redhaired and Alice de Whorlton, who entertained him with songs about Simon de Montfort.[3]

A FOREST EYRE

The records of the Forest Eyres for Pickering give much information as to the condition of the forests in the Middle Ages. These Eyres after Edmund Crouchback got the land were not Royal Assizes, but Edward I. had given his brother permission to hold an Eyre in Pickering Forest whenever the King's Justices held similar Eyres in the Royal Forests. Eyres were held in Pickering in 1286, 1291, 1293 and 1328, but the most famous was the Great Eyre which lasted from October, 1334, until September, 1338. The Justices sat ten times at Pickering and once at Hackness, because the Abbot of Whitby claimed that offences committed within the "liberty" of Whitby should be tried within that liberty.[4]

All freeholders had to attend and all forest officials were required to present their accounts and reports. Each township was represented by the reeve and four men. The Foresters and Verderers, or, less frequently, twelve men, duly sworn, and hence called jurati or jurymen, presented for trial reputed offenders. Offenders convicted by the Verderers, who had no power to inflict a fine themselves, came before this Court. The sworn statement of twelve jurymen at an Assize of the Forest, held at Pickering, gives a good account of the rights enjoyed by the inhabitants of the township. The men of the King's demesne of Pickering, in the year before the war broke out between King John and his barons, had common of pasture for all kinds of cattle except goats in all the King's woods appertaining to the manor of Pickering, and mast for hogs without rendering payment. For easements "they

[1] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. III., p. 224.
[2] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. III., p. xxxi.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 225.
[4] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. IV., p. xxxviii.

had green and dead wood for husbote and drywood for burning, and, in other woods appertaining to the manor, haybote and walling for their houses and enclosure for the hedges round their fields by view and livery of the Foresters, and dry wood lying on the ground, with dry wood which they could knock down by crooks."

The summons to attend the Eyre was frequently disobeyed and absentees were fined according to their rank. The Prior of the Hospitallers was fined £3, barons paid £2, Knights from 30s. to 10s., and the Abbot of Rievaulx £1. Humbler people escaped more lightly; for such a fine of sixpence was deemed sufficient.

The Court received the reports of the officials as to vert and venison. The Chief Forester gave the number of deer killed, and explained by what warrant they had been killed. He stated whether the bodies of deer that had died from disease had been hung from the trees as the law required. The number of trees felled was duly reported, with special explanations where necessary, as in the case of the one hundred and forty three oaks sent by Edward II. to fortify Scarborough Castle. Reports were made as to enclosures, the erection of buildings within the forest and the waste of wood. Official accounts were presented and audited. These included rents for land and fisheries, and payments for pannage.

Claims were made to certain rights which had been challenged by the Foresters. "Sir John de Meaux claims to have housebote, and haybote for himself, his men and tenants of Levisham in the woods of Levisham in accordance with the Assize of the Forest; and reasonable supplies of turf in his demesne of Levisham for himself, his men and his tenants; and ironstone and a smelting place in his woods of Levisham; paying to the Earl an annual rent of 2s., and aeries of falcons, merlins and sparrowhawks, and whatever honey is found in his woods of Levisham; and he claimed to have a woodward in such woods." Sir John showed that such rights had been enjoyed by himself and his ancestors, and his claim was admitted. Less important folk made claims to free pannage, free fishing and the right of taking timber.[1]

BREACHES OF FOREST LAWS

Charges of poaching were very numerous. The lowest classes of the population occasionally killed deer, much more often smaller game, but apparently did more harm to the trees than the animals. Sudden temptation perhaps explains why John Burmer in February, 1305, "hurled such large stones at a stag that he killed it and carried it to the barn in his cart." He was fined 30s.[2]

[1] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. III., p. 111.
[2] "North Riding Records," Vol. II., p. 78.

Much more serious were the great poaching expeditions organised by the chief men of the district. The most famous took place only a few months before the Eyre was held. Nicholas de Meynell of Whorlton, Peter de Mauley of Mulgrave, the ringleader, John and William de Percy of Kildale, William de Percy of Sneaton, "with red-headed John, his groom, to lead the hounds," and one of the Colvilles of Ingleby Arncliffe took sixty-six deer. They cut off the heads of nine and stuck them on stakes to show their contempt for the Earl of Lancaster's gamekeepers. Mauley was fined £10 and Meynell twenty marks for their action; perhaps this prompt punishment taught them more respect for the law if not for the gamekeepers.[1] In 1311 the Earl's Foresters surprised the son of Sir Robert Boynton as he was hunting in the forest, and took from him nine greyhounds, two bows, six arrows, two vessels of wine and "a bag containing bread and herrings."[2] Sir John de Fauconberg was perhaps the worst offender of all; he had to pay a composition of £100 to cover the offences of himself and his friends.[3]

Poaching was not confined to the laity. Robert Hampton, the rector of Middleton, was a confirmed poacher. He kept four greyhounds, carried bows and arrows in spite of the law, "oft hunted hares at will, and was concerned in the theft of two cartloads of beans." In spite of repeated warnings he persisted in his evil deeds, and was finally outlawed in 1328.[4] The Abbot of Whitby apparently enjoyed other men's venison; when his huntsman, with seven dogs, pulled down a hind at Ellerbeck, "the venison went to the Abbot." He offended in good company, for the Dean of York Minster was fined £20 in 1331 for taking venison in the Forest of Galtres.

Timber and brushwood were often stolen. The men of Pickering had taken timber to build a house and barn in their township, and were fined £6 13s. 4d. for the offence. The Prior of Malton took thorn and hazels to the value of £1, "and carried it to Scarborough for kippering his herrings." He had to pay the value of the wood and a fine of £5.[5] Many were prosecuted for the same offence, including the contumacious rector of Middleton and the vicar of Ebberston. The Prior of Bridlington paid 13s. 4d. because he had erected a sheepfold in the Forest of Pickering, 100 feet long and twelve feet broad "thereby injuring the Lord's deer."[6]

Many of the forest officials were presented for extortion, misuse of their authority, or undue severity in the exercise of their duties. Some had taken sheaves and wool under cover of their office; others had taken birds by means of birdlime, nets

[1] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. II., p. 60.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 103. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 257. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 70 and 186.
[5] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. III., p. 28.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

or other contrivances; others had cut turf or cut down oaks for their own use contrary to law. Three Foresters were fined for "surcharging all the inhabitants with their living and that of their servants." In 1348 Robert of Scarborough took proceedings against the Earl of Lancaster's Foresters because they had seized the oxen from his plough at Yeddingham, although draught cattle were exempt from legal seizure while other beasts were available.

Corruption was found in very high places. Richard Willoughby, who had presided at the Eyre in Pickering in 1335, was afterwards arraigned because, while acting as Lieutenant of Edward III. during the King's absence in France, he "sold the laws as if they had been oxen or cows." He was soon restored to office, and probably was not much worse than his colleagues. In 1349 Hugh de Neville "protoforestarius" was fined £1 because, while Bailiff of Pickering Castle, "under colour of his office, he arrested one Robert the Dyer, bound his hands as if he had been a felon, although he had not been indicted, and took from him a horse, harness and other goods to the value of 20s." William de Kirkby, the next Bailiff, falsely accused his predecessor, Hugh de Neville, of taking six harts in Pickering Forest, and imprisoned him in the gaol in Pickering Castle for seven weeks in iron fetters.[1] Hugh's son, John de Neville, also a Chief Forester, was deemed worthy of imprisonment for breaches of the Forest Laws, but escaped more lightly than he deserved owing to the King's clemency.[2]

In times of war or disturbance there was little check on the rapacity of the forest officials. During the contest between Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and Edward II., the Earl's Foresters "ruined the people of the country by their power, so that the latter are beggared, while the former are rich in lands, tenements and fine manors, though when they came into this country they had nothing but their bows and arrows and the clothes they walked in." During the Wars of the Roses the game and deer were greatly diminished by excessive hunting, and the Constable of Pickering Forest was ordered to allow no one to hunt in the forest for three years without special warrant. The Tudor monarchs gave England firm government, but in the reign of Henry VII. the number of offences against the Forest Laws was very great, and we read of men carrying off a hundred wagon loads of wood, selling twenty wagon loads of drywood to the people of Pickering, giving thirty-six oaks to the Abbot of Whitby and twenty to the Dean of York. So frequent were offences that a conviction was most difficult to obtain; jurors who habitually broke the Forest Laws themselves looked with a lenient eye on other offenders. The climax was reached when, early in the Tudor period, eight jurymen had to try indictments against themselves.

[1] "North Riding Records," New Series, Vol. IV., p. xxxviii.
[2] "Math. Paris," Vol. IV., p. 401.

CHAPTER XXI

EARLY YORKSHIRE PEDIGREES

THE EARLS OF RICHMOND[1]

WE have seen (page 86) that in 1069 William the Conqueror gave Richmondshire to Alan the Red, son of Odo, Count of Penthièvre in Brittany, as a reward for faithful service at Hastings. Alan the Red, who is often confused with his cousin, Alan Fargant, the son-in-law of the Conqueror,[2] died childless in 1089, when Richmondshire passed to his brother Alan the Black, and on his death to a third brother Stephen. Stephen's son, Alan the Black II., married the heiress of the Duke of Brittany, and died in 1146, according to tradition, of poison placed on his gloves by an unfaithful servant. His son, Conan le Petit, succeeded to the Duchy of Brittany on the death of his maternal grandfather, and became Earl of Richmond on his father's death. His predecessors had been known as Count Alan and Count Stephen. Conan was the first of his line to take the title of Earl of Richmond.

The acquisition of Brittany was not an unmixed blessing for the Earls of Richmond. The Kings of France were anxious to secure the help of all their vassals in their attempt to wrest from the Kings of England the Duchy of Normandy, which they held as heirs of William the Conqueror, and the Counties of Anjou, Touraine and Maine, to which Henry II. had succeeded on the death of his father, Geoffrey Plantagenet. If Conan and his successors supported the King of England, they would lose the Duchy of Brittany; if they supported the King of France, they endangered their possession of the Earldom of Richmond. Conan himself seems to have retained all his lands and lived in royal style at Richmond. He married Margaret, sister of Malcolm IV., King of Scots; and after his death in 1171, his daughter and heiress,[3] Constance, was given in marriage to Geoffrey Plantagenet, the fourth son of Henry II., to whom she had been betrothed in infancy. With Conan the direct male line of Odo of Penthièvre ceased. His grandson, Arthur, who became Duke of Brittany on Geoffrey's death, claimed the throne

1 Clay's "Extinct and Dormant Peerages of the Northern Counties," p. 178.
2 "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. I., p. 2, note 21.
3 "Romantic Richmondshire," Speight, p. 46.

THE EARLS OF RICHMOND

Odo, Count of Penthièvre in Brittany.

- **Count Alan Rufus**, *d.* 1089.
- **Count Alan Niger I.**, *d.c.* 1093.
- Count Stephen, *d.* 1137.
  - Count Alan Niger II., *d.* 1146, *m.* Bertha, heiress of Conan III., Duke of Brittany.
    - Conan le Petit, *d.* 1171, Earl of Richmond and Duke of Brittany, *m.* Margaret, sister of Malcolm IV., King of Scots.
      - Constance, *d.* 1201, *m.* (1) Geoffrey Plantagenet, *d.* 1186.
        - Arthur, *d.* 1203.
      - (3) Guy of Thouars
        - Alicia, *m.*, 1212, Peter de Dreux, Duke of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, *d.* 1250.
          - John de Dreux I., Duke of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, *d.* 1283.
            - John de Dreux II., Duke of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, *d.* 1305, *m.* Beatrice, daughter of Henry III.
              - Arthur de Dreux, Duke of Brittany.
                - John de Dreux IV., Duke of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, *d.* 1341.
              - John de Dreux III., Earl of Richmond, *d.* 1334.
                - John de Dreux V., Earl of Montfort, Duke of Brittany, Earl of Richmond.
                  - John de Dreux VI., Duke of Brittany. The last Earl of Richmond of this line. *d.* 1399.
    - Brian, Lord of Bedale, *m.* Scolland's daughter,
      - Alan FitzBrian, *d.c.* 1190.
        - Brian FitzAlan, *d.* 1259.
          - Alan FitzBrian, *d.* 1261.
            - Brian FitzAlan, *d.* 1306.
              - Agnes or Matilda, *m.* Gilbert Stapleton, *d.* 1321.
                - Sir Miles Stapleton, *d.* 1363.
              - Katharine, *m.* John, Lord Grey of Rotherfield, *d.* 1359.
- Ribald, Lord of Middleham and Bedale.
  - Ralph, *m.* Agatha de Brus.
    - Robert FitzRalph, *m.* Helewise de Glanvil.
      - Ranulph FitzRobert, *d.* 1251.
        - RalphFitzRanulph *d.* 1270. *m.* Anatasia de Percy.
          - Mary of Middleham, *d.* 1320, *m.* Robert de Neville II. of Raby, *d.* 1271.
- Bodin, Lord of Bedale and Cotherstone.
- Bardulf.
  - Akaris FitzBardulph, *d.* 1161.
    - Hervey FitzAkaris *d.* 1182.
      - Henry FitzHervey, *d.* 1201.
        - Ranulf FitzHenry.
          - Henry FitzRanulf, *d.* 1262.
            - Hugh FitzHenry.
              - Henry FitzHugh 1st Baron FitzHugh, *d.* 1356.
                - Henry FitzHugh *d.* 1352.
                  - Henry FitzHugh, 2nd Bar. FitzHugh, *m.* Joan, daughter of Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham, *d.* 1386.
                    - Henry FitzHugh, 3rd Bar. FitzHugh, *m.* Elizabeth de Grey, niece and heiress of John Marmion, *d.* 1424.

of England through his father, and is generally supposed to have been murdered in 1203 by his uncle, King John, who had no scruples about removing a possible rival.

Alicia, a daughter of Constance and her third husband, Guy of Thouars, married in 1212 Peter de Dreux, surnamed Mauclerc, or Bad Scholar, who became Duke of Brittany in right of his wife. Peter helped John in his struggle with the English barons, and was rewarded with a grant of the Honour and Earldom of Richmond. His tenure was precarious. Henry III. deprived him of his English estates and title because he supported the French King, but the King and Duke were afterwards reconciled, and Pierre Mauclerc again became Earl of Richmond. He again quarrelled with Henry, who, in 1241, gave the Earldom of Richmond to his wife's uncle, Peter of Savoy; but Peter Mauclerc's son, John I., regained the Earldom after the death of Peter of Savoy in 1268. John II., son of John I., married Beatrice, daughter of Henry III., and held both the Duchy of Brittany and the Earldom of Richmond, with which he was invested in 1268. From this time onwards the Earldom was held sometimes by the Dreux family, sometimes by royal nominees such as John of Gaunt and Queen Anne, the wife of Richard II. In 1399 Richard gave the County and Honour of Richmond, without the title of Earl, to Ralph de Neville, fourth Baron Neville of Raby, and first Earl of Westmorland, and although the Dukes of Brittany continued to style themselves Earls of Richmond, they failed to make their claim effective.

The FitzAlans, the lords of Middleham, and the FitzHughs, were related to the Counts of Richmond.

THE FITZALANS

In Domesday Book, Bodin, an illegitimate son of Odo of Penthièvre, is said to hold Bedale under his half-brother, Alan the Red. On his death Bedale passed to another half-brother, Ribald, Lord of Middleham, but later it was held by Scolland, the sewer or dapifer of Earl Alan the Black II. After the death of Scolland,[1] Bedale passed, possibly by marriage with Scolland's heiress, to Brian, the second son of Alan the Black II., and his descendants held Bedale in the male line until the death, in 1306, of Brian FitzAlan, a distinguished soldier and statesman who served Edward I. faithfully in Wales and Scotland.

Brian's elder daughter, Agnes or Matilda, married Gilbert Stapleton of Cotherstone,[2] who became lord of half Bedale in right of his wife. Sir Gilbert's son Miles was a leading figure at the

[1] McCall's "Bedale," p. 20. [2] Died 1321; McCall's "Bedale."

court of Edward III., and a close friend of the Black Prince. He received one of the twelve garters of blue embroidered with gold and silk which the King gave to twelve knights who fought at a great tournament at Eltham in 1347, and was one of the original members of the Order of the Garter, which was instituted soon afterwards. The Stapletons held half the manor until the death of Sir Miles Stapleton, Bart., in 1707. Brian FitzAlan's younger daughter, Katharine, married John, Lord Grey of Rotherfield,[1] who obtained the other half of the manor of Bedale. This passed by marriage into the possession of the Deyncourts, Lovels and Theakstons, and was purchased from the last about 1657 by John Peirse, the ancestor of Sir Henry Monson de la Poer Beresford-Peirse, Bart.

THE LORDS OF MIDDLEHAM

The lords of Middleham were also descended from Odo, Count of Penthièvre. They are often spoken of as the FitzRanulphs, but this surname was never adopted by the family, members of which were called by different surnames—FitzRibald, FitzRobert, Fitz Ranulph—after the names of their fathers. Ribald, Count Odo's youngest legitimate son, held Middleham, Well, Snape and, for a time, Bedale as tenant of his brothers, Counts Alan the Red and Black. Ribald built the motte and bailey castle, known as William's Hill, at Middleham. His son Ralph married Agatha, daughter of Robert de Brus of Annandale, and built a manor house at Snape, and Ralph's son and successor, Robert FitzRalph, built the keep of Middleham Castle about 1190. Robert FitzRalph married Helewise, co-heiress of Ranulf de Glanvil, the famous Justiciar of Henry II., and through this marriage the family added Coverham to their estates. Robert's grandson, Ralph FitzRanulf, died without male issue in 1270, and owing to the marriage of his daughter Mary of Middleham with Robert de Neville of Raby, Middleham was added to the great estates of the Nevilles.

THE FITZHUGHS

On the death of Bodin his lands at Cotherstone passed to his brother Bardulf, another illegitimate son of Odo of Penthièvre and ancestor of the FitzHughs of Cotherstone and Ravensworth.[2] His son Akaris, founded Fors Abbey, which was afterwards transferred to Jervaulx. Akaris' grandson, Henry FitzHervey, who died in

[1] Died 1359.

[2] Clay's "Extinct Peerages of the Northern Counties," p. 73, but some authorities consider that Bardulf was not Bodin's brother, but his son-in-law (see "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. I., p. 89).

1201, fortified the castle at Cotherstone, but this was probably destroyed by the Scots, and Ravensworth became the chief seat of the family. Henry FitzHugh, the first Lord FitzHugh, succeeded to the estates in 1304, and with him the family began to take the name FitzHugh. In 1424 his great grandson, Henry, third Baron FitzHugh, married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert de Grey of Rotherfield, and heiress of her uncle, John Marmion, and by this marriage the FitzHughs gained the Marmion estates at West Tanfield.[1]

THE NEVILLES

The story of the Nevilles is one of the romances of English history. The family took its name from their fief of Neuville-sur-Toque in Normandy; Gilbert de Neville is said to have commanded the fleet of William the Conqueror, but the statement lacks proof. The Nevilles certainly held lands in Lincolnshire early in the twelfth century. They gained the first of their possessions in Durham and Yorkshire through the marriage of Geoffrey de Neville with Emma, heiress of Bertram de Bulmer, through whom Sheriff Hutton and Brancepeth came into their possession. Geoffrey's heiress, Isabella, married Robert FitzMaldred, the lord of Raby, and her son, Geoffrey FitzRobert, who took the name of Neville after his mother's family, succeeded to the lands of his father and mother. His grandson, Robert de Neville II., married Mary of Middleham, and so brought Middleham into the family. Robert died in 1271 owing to injuries received from the relatives of a lady with whom he had carried on an intrigue, and was buried in the chapter house of Coverham Abbey.[2] His widow, Mary, held Middleham and Snape until her death in 1320.[3]

Ralph de Neville, the son of Robert and Mary, was summoned to Parliament 1295-1331, and thus became the first Lord Neville of Raby.[4] He took but little part in secular business, and well deserved his nickname "the Indolent." He spent much of his time in the company of the Canons of Coverham, but was compelled by Bishop Kellawe of Durham to do public penance for his flagrant immorality.[5] The story that his mother held so poor an opinion of him that she settled Middleham and Coverham on her grandson Robert is incorrect. She left Middleham to Ralph for his life, with reversion to his son Robert.[6] Robert, nicknamed the "Peacock of

[1] Clay, "Extinct Peerages," p. 74.

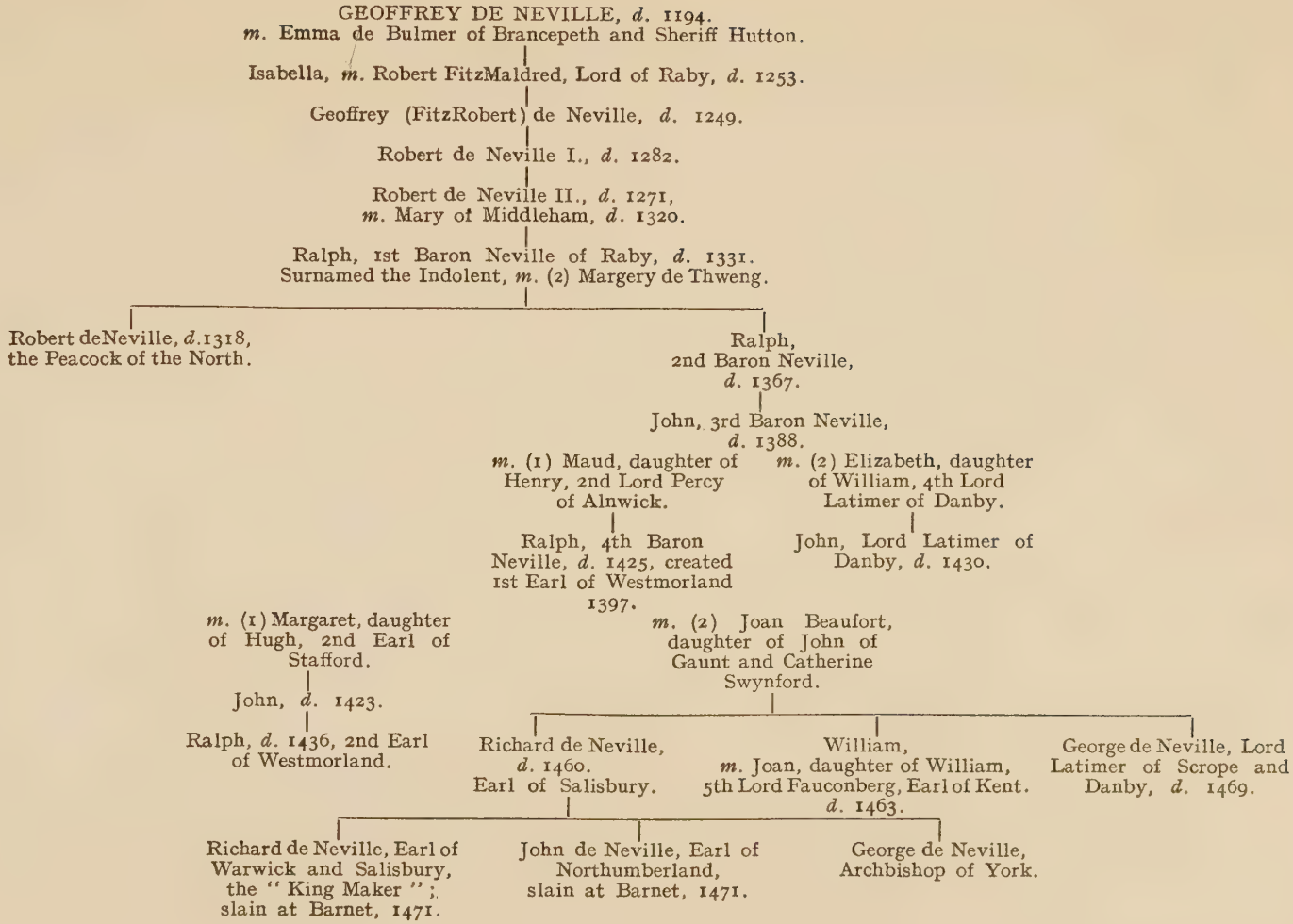
[2] An upright stone effigy, which remains in the Abbey, has been supposed to represent him, but Mr. I'Anson points out that this theory is incorrect, for as he was buried in the chapter house his tombstone would be flat.

[3] I'Anson: "Coverham Abbey," *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXV., p. 277.

[4] Clay "Extinct Peerages," p. 145. The D.N.B. wrongly states that Robert de Neville I., who died in 1282, and was the father of Robert II., was second Baron Neville of Raby.

[5] Swallow's "De Nova Villa," p. 10. [6] "Vict. County Hist.," Vol. I., p. 254.

THE NEVILLES



the North," from his vanity and ostentation, was killed in a border skirmish with James, Earl of Douglas, in 1318. "The same Robert de Neville, in his pride and wantonness, got together a gang of excommunicated thieves and vagabonds, intending to take a prey in the marches of Scotland, but at Bewyk (Berwick) Park he was killed by James, Earl of Douglas, and Ralph de Nevill, his brother, was led away prisoner, and kept in custody by Patrick, Earl of Dunbar."[1]

Ralph, who succeeded his father as second Lord Neville, fought valiantly against the Scots at Neville's Cross, and was the first layman who was buried in Durham Cathedral.

John, third Lord Neville, was married twice. By his first wife, Maud de Percy, he had a son Ralph, who was created Earl of Westmorland in 1397, and received a grant of the Honour of Richmond in 1399; his son John, by his second wife Elizabeth, heiress of William, fourth Lord Latimer of Danby, became Lord Latimer of Danby by right of his mother.

THE SCROPES[2]

Sir William le Scrope, who had been knighted for his services at the battle of Falkirk, 1298, settled in Wensleydale, and left two famous sons, each of whom became Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Sir Henry, the elder, succeeded to Bolton. Sir Geoffrey, the younger, who was a great soldier, as well as a learned judge, bought Masham from the heiress of the Waltons in 1329, and founded the Masham branch of the Scrope family.

Sir Henry le Scrope of Bolton died in 1336. His son, Sir Richard, the first Lord Scrope of Bolton, became the most famous man of his day. He was a successful soldier, gained the honour of knighthood for his bravery at Neville's Cross when he was only eighteen, and won the warm friendship of the Black Prince, under whom he served in France and Spain. By a successful lawsuit against Sir Robert Grosvenor, he established the right of his family to bear the famous arms—azure, a bend or. His wisdom made him a valued member of the King's Council; he became Lord Chancellor of England in 1378, and showed his integrity by opposing the extravagance of Richard II., and by refusing to affix the great seal to royal decrees of which he disapproved. He built the castle which is still standing at Bolton, and thither he retired, worn out by faithful service in the field and council chamber. His last years were darkened by the tragic fate of his eldest son William, who was created Earl of Wiltshire by Richard II. and executed by Bolingbroke in 1399. With him the Earldom of Wiltshire became extinct, and

[1] Harleian MSS. [2] Clay's "Extinct Peerages," p. 198.

although his descendant, Simon Thomas Scrope of Danby, claimed the Earldom in 1859, he failed to secure a favourable verdict from the House of Lords. Roger, the second son of the Chancellor, succeeded his father in 1403, but died in a few months. Roger's son Richard became third Lord Scrope of Bolton, married Margaret de Neville, daughter of Ralph, first Earl of Westmorland, and died in 1421.

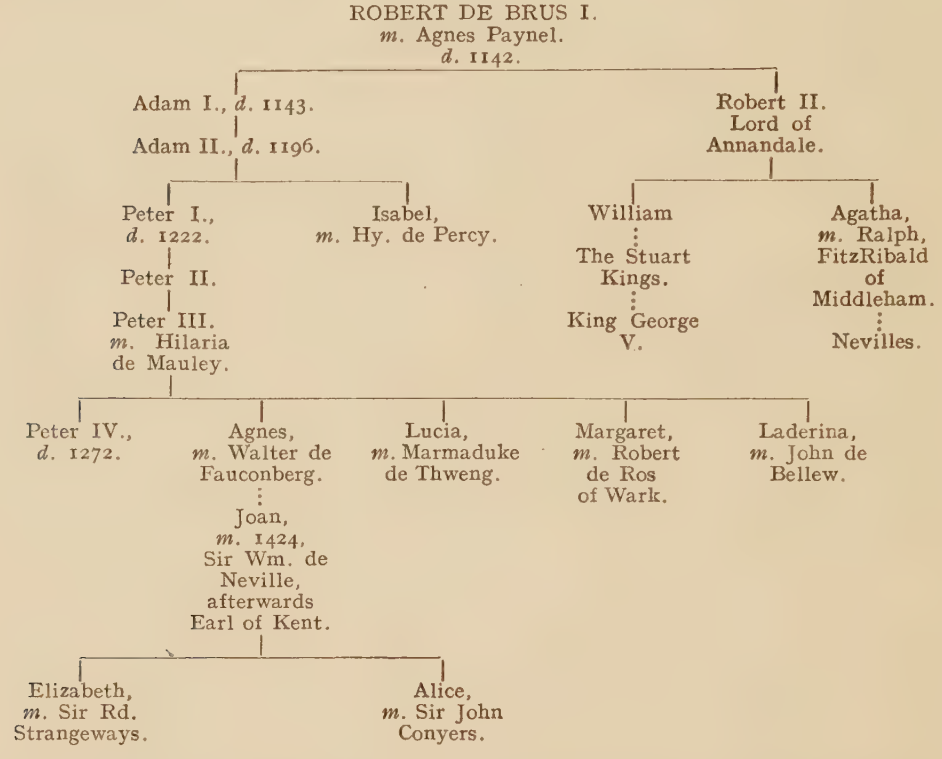
Sir Geoffrey le Scrope of Masham was succeeded in 1340 by his eldest son Henry, who was summoned to Parliament from 1350 to 1391, and thus became first Lord Scrope of Masham. Lord Scrope's son Richard was presented to the living of Ainderby Steeple by his kinsman, the Lord Chancellor, in 1367. He became Chancellor of Cambridge University, Bishop of Lichfield, and, in 1398, Archbishop of York. He was executed at York in 1405 for supporting the rebellion of Northumberland against Henry IV., and his tragic death horrified the men of the north, who long cherished with affection the memory of "Saint Richard Scrope." Another tragedy soon followed. In 1415 the Archbishop's nephew Henry, third Lord Scrope of Masham, was beheaded at Southampton for joining in the plot made by the Earl of Cambridge to murder Henry V. His plea that he joined the conspiracy only to betray it did not carry conviction, and men felt that he had justly paid the full penalty of his crime. In 1517 the barony of Scrope of Masham fell into abeyance among the sisters of Geoffrey, ninth Lord Scrope of Masham, who married into the families of Strangeways of Harlsey Castle, Danby, and FitzRandall of Spennithorne, a junior branch of the old family of Middleham.

THE BRUS

The great family of Brus took its name from the castle of Bruis, near Cherbourg. According to an old list of burials at Guisborough Priory, "Robert Bruis, which came into England with William Conquerour, founded the Pryory of Gysborough, where he lyeth berryed." Ord[1] said that "the first Robert Bruce accompanied the first William from Normandy," and considered that he would, therefore, be too old to found Guisborough Priory in 1119, or to fight in the Battle of the Standard nineteen years later. To meet the difficulty, he assumed that there were two Roberts, the first of the house who died in 1090,[2] and his son Robert, who founded the Priory, received the lordship of Annandale, in Scotland, from King David, whose friendship he had won at the court of Henry I., and fought against the Scots at Northallerton. But we have no

1 "History of Cleveland," p. 247.
2 "The Dictionary of National Biography" says 1094.

proof that Brus did come over with the Conqueror. He received no share in the lavish grants of land made by William in 1069, and his name does not appear in Domesday. But in an appendix to Domesday he is returned as holding a considerable amount of land in the North Riding, especially in Eskdale. Atkinson [1] concluded that "soon after 1087 he was a man of great consideration," and that if he was about thirty-five years of age at that time, he might have fought in the battle of the Standard at the age of about eighty-six. Atkinson is right in denying that Brus came over with the



Conqueror, but the life of a Norman baron was hard and strenuous, and it is unlikely that he lived to the advanced age that Atkinson suggests. The investigations of Dr. Farrer [2] show that Robert de Brus did not come to England until the beginning of the twelfth century, and there is strong presumption that Henry I. gave him his estates in Yorkshire soon after the battle of Tinchebrai, 1106. In his foundation charter to Guisborough Priory he states that he held his Skelton property "by the gift and grant of Henry, King of England." [3] At Tinchebrai, Henry's brother, Robert Curthose,

[1] "Cleveland," Vol. I., p. 320. [2] "Early Yorkshire Charters," Vol. II., p. 11.
[3] I'Anson, *Y.A.J.* Vol. XXII., p. 383.

was defeated, and William de Mortain, who supported Robert, was taken prisoner. Mortain's estates were confiscated, and some of his holding in Cleveland, together with a considerable amount of the King's domain, was given to Robert de Brus, who built in the parish of Danby the castle that gave its name to Castleton. Before 1129 a portion of the lands formerly held by Richard de Surdeval under the Count of Mortain was also bestowed upon Robert de Brus. This grant included Normanby, the greater part of Guisborough, and Skelton, where de Brus took, as the head of his barony, the castle which Richard de Surdeval had built.[1] The details of his fee were added to Domesday after 1120, and not, as Atkinson supposed, soon after the book was finished in 1087. He received the grant of Annandale from his friend, David, King of Scots, about 1124, and before the battle of the Standard begged David to withdraw from England.[2] His appeal failed, and he and his eldest son Adam fought against David in the Battle of the Standard, although his second son, Robert, fought on the Scottish side. The elder Brus renounced his allegiance to David, and the King gave the lordship of Annandale to his son Robert.

Robert de Brus of Annandale was the ancestor of Robert Bruce, who resisted the attempt of Edward I. to secure the homage of Scotland, became King of Scotland in 1306 and routed Edward II. at Bannockburn in 1314. His daughter Marjory married Walter the Steward, and their son, King Robert the Steward (1316-1390), was the first of the Steward or Stuart line. Elizabeth, daughter of King James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, was the ancestress of King George V., who is therefore a descendant of Robert de Brus of Skelton. The Brus arms, a lion rampant, were adopted as the arms of Scotland, and were quartered with those of England on the accession of James I. in 1603.

Adam de Brus I. succeeded his father in 1142, but died in the following year. Adam de Brus II. supported King Henry II. in 1173, when Henry, the King's son, rebelled against his father, and Peter de Brus I. took an active part in compelling King John to agree to Magna Carta in 1215. The male line of the older branch ended when Peter de Brus IV. died childless in 1272, and the estates, consisting of 30½ Knight's fees, were divided among his four sisters. Agnes, the wife of Walter de Fauconberg, obtained Skelton and the neighbourhood ; Lucia, who had married Marmaduke de Thweng of Kilton, got Danby, Lealholm, Brotton, Skinningrove and Yarm ; Margaret, the wife of Robert de Ros of Wark, received Kendal and other lands in Westmorland, and certain property passed to Laderina, who married John de Bellew of Thorpe-Arch. In 1424 Joan, heiress of Thomas, fifth and last Lord Fauconberg,

[1] I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII., p. 380. [2] Page 122.

married William de Neville, son of the first Earl of Westmorland[1]; he became Lord Fauconberg in right of his wife, and was created Earl of Kent in 1461. Their second daughter Elizabeth married Sir Richard Strangeways of Harlsey; their third, Alice, Sir John Conyers of Hornby Castle.[2]

THE BALIOLS

William Rufus gave Stokesley to Guy de Baliol, who took his name from Bailleul in France. Guy's son, Bernard, built on the Tees a castle which was named Barnard Castle after him. John de Baliol I. married Devorguil, the grand-daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, who was the brother of William the Lion, King of Scots. In 1262 he gave lands to endow Balliol College, Oxford. John de Baliol II. (1249-1315) in 1292 claimed the kingdom of Scotland through his mother, and his claim was allowed by Edward I., to whom the question had been referred. He was defeated and deposed by Edward in 1296. Edward de Baliol, son of John II., also became King of Scotland, but he surrendered his throne to Edward III. in 1355 in return for a pension of £2,000. By the marriage of Ada, daughter of Hugh de Baliol, who died about 1228, Stokesley passed to the Eures, who held it until the seventeenth century.[3]

THE MAULEYS, MEYNELLS AND INGELRAMS

Nigel Fossard, about 1088, became tenant-in-chief of the lands he had previously held under Robert de Mortain, and the Fossard estates passed to Robert de Turnham, the favourite armour-bearer of Richard I., on his marriage to Joan Fossard in 1195. Their daughter and heiress, Isabel, was given in marriage by King John to Peter de Mauley, his faithful squire. Walter of Hemingburgh states that Mauley was the actual murderer of Prince Arthur of Brittany, John's nephew and rival, and that John gave him Isabel and her estates as a reward for the crime. The statement seems incorrect. Arthur was murdered in 1203, but Peter did not marry Isabel until 1213 or 1214, and had to pay the king 7,000 marks for the marriage. About 1214 Mauley, in right of his wife, took possession of Mulgrave, and the castle "being full, as it were, of grace and beauty, he named in French, Moult Grace, but because it became a most grievous yoke unto the neighbour inhabitants, the people, by change of one letter, term it Moult Grave."[4] But

[1] Page 240.
[2] Clay, "Extinct Peerages," p. 71.
[3] Clay, "Extinct Peerages" p. 60.
[4] Camden.

later, and more accurate, philologists derive the name from the "griff," or inlet, which breaks the line of coast at Runswick Bay. There were eight successive lords of Mulgrave all bearing the name of Peter de Mauley; Peter IV. was summoned to Parliament in 1295, and became the first Lord Mauley; the direct line ceased with the death of the last in 1415.

In the early part of the reign of Henry I., Robert de Meynell gained Whorlton through his marriage with Gertrude,[1] daughter of Robert Fossard, and thus became the ancestor of the Meynells of Whorlton, who played a great part in local history. Elizabeth, heiress of Nicholas, last Lord Meynell, married John, Lord Darcy, and the Meynell title and estates passed into her husband's family.

The Inglerams of Arncliffe were neighbours of the Meynells, and their estates passed into the Colville family on the marriage of Engeliza Ingleram to Sir Philip Colville of Dale. Sir William Mauleverer, in 1440, married Jean Colville, and their descendants lived at Arncliffe until the end of the nineteenth century, when the Arncliffe estate was bought by Sir Lowthian Bell, Bart.

THE THWENGS OF KILTON

Sir Robert de Thweng, *d.* 1247, *m.* Matilda de Kilton, widow of Sir Richard de Hauterive[2]

Marmaduke de Thweng I., *d.* 1279, *m.* Lucia de Brus.

- Sir Robert de Thweng, *d.* 1279.
  - Lucia de Thweng, *d.* 1346, *m.* (1) Sir Wm. le Latimer, 1294; (2) Sir Robert de Everingham, 1313; (3) Sir Bartholomew de Fanacourt, 1320.
    - Nicholas, last Lord Meynell (illegitimate).
      - Elizabeth de Meynell, *m.* John, Lord Darcy.
- Marmaduke de Thweng II., 1st Baron Thweng of Kilton, *d.* 1323.
  - Marmaduke III., killed at Stirling, 1297.
  - William, 2nd Baron, *d.* 1341.
  - Robert, 3rd Baron, a priest, *d.* 1345.
  - Thomas, 4th and last Baron, a priest, *d.* 1374.

[1] Clay, "Extinct Peerages," p. 135.

[2] Or Alta Ripa.

Kilton Castle was founded in the reign of Stephen by Pagan FitzWalter, and was held until 1213 by his descendants, who took the surname of Kilton. For eight years the fief was held by the Hauterive[1] family as tenants of the Percys of Whitby, and in 1222 Percy gave Matilda de Kilton, widow of Sir Richard de Hauterive, in marriage to Sir Robert de Thweng,[2] a member of an important family in the East Riding.

Sir Robert died in 1247, and was succeeded by his son, Marmaduke I., who seven years later married Lucia de Brus, sister and co-heiress of Peter de Brus IV. In virtue of his wife, he received the lordship, castle,[3] and forest of Danby, and half the advowson of Guisborough Priory. He took up his residence at Castleton, and Kilton became the home of his second son Marmaduke.

On the death of Marmaduke I. in 1279, Kilton passed to Marmaduke II., but the Brus property at Danby passed to Lucia, daughter of Marmaduke I.'s eldest son Robert, who had died before his father. In an age when chastity was a rare virtue, Lucia de Thweng, the Helen of Cleveland, gained unenviable notoriety for her gross immorality. In August 1294 she married Sir Wm. le Latimer, who was attracted by her great possessions, although her uncle, Marmaduke de Thweng II., wished her to marry his son Marmaduke III. Lucia cordially disliked her husband; Latimer was reluctant to marry a girl whose reputation was already tarnished. In December 1294 Lucia bore a son, of whom her cousin Marmaduke was probably the father. She and her husband lived at Castleton, but Kilton was only six miles away, and Latimer deemed it wise to move to his manor house at Bourne in Lincolnshire. Within a year of her marriage, Lucia left Bourne and lived for some months at Kilton, probably as her cousin's mistress. She returned to Bourne, but in 1304, during her husband's absence, she was carried away by her own consent, and became the mistress of Peter de Mauley V. of Mulgrave. She returned again to her cousin Marmaduke at Kilton, and left him to live with Nicholas, second Lord Meynell of Whorlton, in 1305. Her husband divorced her, and in 1307 she bore a son, Nicholas de Meynell, who, though illegitimate, succeeded to his father's barony. Lucia married, as her second husband, Sir Robert de Everingham, who was killed in the Scottish Wars. In 1320 she married Sir Bartholomew de Fanacourt, who fought for Thomas of Lancaster at Boroughbridge against the King's forces, of which Wm. le Latimer, Lucia's first husband, was one of the leaders. Lucia died at Brotton in 1346, and was buried beside her second husband in Guisborough Priory. Marmaduke de Thweng II., the first Lord Thweng, gained great distinction by his

[1] Or Alta Ripa. [2] For the Thwengs, see I'Anson *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXII., p. 77.
[3] *i.e.*, Castleton, not Danby Castle.

bravery at the Battle of Stirling, and his second son, William (his eldest son, Marmaduke, was killed at Stirling), captured and slew the murderer of Edward II. On the death of Thomas, fourth and last Baron Thweng of Kilton, in 1374, the Thweng estates were divided among his sisters. Owing to the marriage of the eldest sister Lucia to Sir Robert de Lumley, a part went to the Lumley family, who built Lumley Castle, the present seat of their descendant, the Earl of Scarborough.

THE EARL OF CHESTER

Hugh d'Avranches, afterwards Earl of Chester, received Whitby soon after the conquest. He was a nephew of King William, and men called him Lupus or the Wolf for his cruelty, and Le Gros for his corpulence. He was a great warrior "more fond of hunters and falconers than priests or husbandmen," and soon went to his earldom where he fought bravely against the Welsh of North Wales.

THE PERCYS

The Percy family took their name from the township of Perci in Normandy, and not, as tradition asserted, from the prowess of an early member of the house who "pierced the eye" of an invading Scottish king. William de Percy I. did not fight at Hastings, but came to England in 1067 with his friend Hugh d'Avranches. He married Emma, who was not a Saxon lady, as has been stated, but the daughter of Hugh de Port, the Norman lord of Seamer.[1] William held Topcliffe directly of the king, and Topcliffe remained the chief North Riding seat of the family. In 1309 Henry de Percy, the first Lord Percy of Alnwick, bought Alnwick Castle on the failure of the direct line of the Vescis, and Alnwick became the most important of the family castles. William de Percy I. also held Whitby, at first as sub-tenant of the Earl of Chester, but from 1087 as tenant-in-chief. He founded Whitby Abbey, and died about 1096 in the Holy Land. He was nicknamed Aux Gernons, or The Whiskered, because he did not follow the usual custom of shaving the cheek, and many of his descendants bore the name of Algernon. Many of the Grosvenors were called Lupus in memory of their ancestor, Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester.

William I. was succeeded by his eldest son Alan I., and as Alan's son, William, died without male issue, Whitby and Topcliffe passed to Joscelyn de Louvain, a descendant of Charlemagne, and half-brother of Henry I.'s Queen, Adeliza of Louvain. Joscelyn

[1] Clay "Extinct Peerages," p. 159.

married William's co-heiress, Agnes, assumed the name of Percy, and died in 1189. His direct male line continued unbroken until the death of Joscelyn, eleventh Earl of Northumberland, in 1670. Joscelyn's great-granddaughter Elizabeth married Sir Hugh Smithson of Stanwick, who was created Duke of Northumberland in 1766, and was the ancestor of the present duke.

THE STUTEVILLES AND MOWBRAYS

Robert de Stuteville, nicknamed Front-de-boeuf, or Oxhead, married Ernburga, the daughter of Hugh FitzBaldrick, and on Hugh's death about 1090 succeeded to his lands at Cropton, Buttercrambe, Kirby Moorside and Thirsk. He was deprived of his fiefs for fighting against Henry I. at Tinchebrai in 1106. Thirsk and Kirby Moorside were given by Henry I. to Nigel de Albini, a Norman baron. He had captured Henry's brother, Robert Curthose, at Tinchebrai, and was already in possession of the lands of Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, who had been imprisoned in Windsor Castle for rebelling against William Rufus. Nigel married, as his first wife, Matilda, whose marriage with Robert de Mowbray had been dissolved. Roger, the son of Nigel de Albini and his second wife Gundreda, took the surname of Mowbray.[1] The Mowbrays, who gave their name to the Vale of Mowbray, long remained in the Riding. John, second Lord Mowbray of Thirsk, was hanged at York in 1322 for helping the Earl of Lancaster; his son John died of plague at York, 1361; Thomas, sixth baron Mowbray and first Duke of Norfolk, was banished in 1398 by Richard II. after his famous quarrel with Bolingbroke, and died soon after at Venice while on his way to the Holy Land.

In the reign of Henry II., William de Stuteville, Robert's son, gained the favour of the King, and Roger de Mowbray undertook to restore Kirby Moorside to him. But the restoration was invalid, as it was not ratified in the King's Court. In 1200 William de Mowbray, Roger's grandson, confirmed the arrangement, and the Stutevilles and their successors continued to hold Kirby Moorside of the Mowbrays until it reverted to the crown on the forfeiture of the Duke of Norfolk at the end of the fourteenth century. The Stutevilles held their lands until 1276, when, on the death of Joan de Stuteville, who had married Hugh de Wake, they passed to her son Baldwin de Wake. A seal of this Joan de Stuteville represents her as riding side-saddle, and she thus anticipated by many years Queen Anne of Bohemia, the wife of Richard II., who is sometimes said to have introduced the fashion into England.

[1] Clay's "Extinct Peerages," p. 139.

THE VESCIS

William the Conqueror gave Malton and Alnwick in Northumberland to Gilbert Tyson, and the towns passed to Ivo de Vesci, who probably married Gilbert's grand-daughter. Ivo's daughter and heiress, Beatrice, married Eustace FitzJohn, one of the few local barons who supported the Empress Matilda against Stephen. He was killed in Wales in 1157, and his son William took his mother's name of De Vesci. The direct line ended with William de Vesci in 1297, but his illegitimate son, "William of Kildare," inherited his estates at Malton. He was killed at Bannockburn in 1314, and the Vesci lands passed to Gilbert de Ayton.[1]

ROS OF HELMSLEY

Peter de Ros I.,
d. 1157,
m. Adelina, sister of
Walter l'Espec.
|
Robert de Ros I.
|
Everard de Ros.
|
Robert de Ros II. (Fursan),
d. 1227,
m. Isabel, illeg. daughter of
William the Lion.
|
William de Ros I.
|
Robert de Ros III.,
d. 1285,
1st Lord Ros of Helmsley,
m. Isabel Daubeny of Belvoir.
|
William de Ros II.,
d. 1316.
2nd Lord Ros of Helmsley,
claimed Scottish crown 1292.
⋮

Edmund de Ros,
11th Lord Ros,
of Helmsley,
d. 1508.

Eleanor de Ros,
m. Sir Robert Manners
of Etal.
|
Thomas Manners,
d. 1543.
12th Lord Ros of Helmsley.
1st Earl of Rutland.

[1] Clay, "Extinct Peerages," p. 227.

THE ROS

Peter de Ros I.[1] married Adelina, sister of Walter l'Espec, and so came into possession of Helmsley, which remained in his family for over three hundred years. His great grandson, Robert de Ros II. (1186-1227), nicknamed Fursan,[2] married the illegitimate daughter of William the Lion, King of Scots, and built Helmsley Keep. He joined the Templars, and the Ros effigy in the Temple Church was long regarded as his. Recent examination has led Mr. I'Anson to conclude that the effigy is of later date, and that it commemorates William, second Lord Ros of Helmsley, who died in 1316. Robert de Ros III.[3] married the heiress of Belvoir, and was the first Lord of Helmsley and Belvoir. His son, William de Ros II., in 1292 unsuccessfully claimed the Scottish crown owing to his descent from William the Lion. On the death of Edmund, eleventh Lord Ros, in 1508, the Helmsley and Belvoir estates passed to Sir Robert Manners of Etal Castle, Northumberland, who had married Edmund's sister Eleanor. Their son became the twelfth Lord Ros, and was the direct ancestor of the Duke of Rutland, who still holds Belvoir Castle.

[1] For a full account of the family see I'Anson, *Y.A.J.*, Vol. XXIV., p. 328, and Clay p. 181.

[2] *D.N.B.* gives Furfan.

[3] Died 1285.

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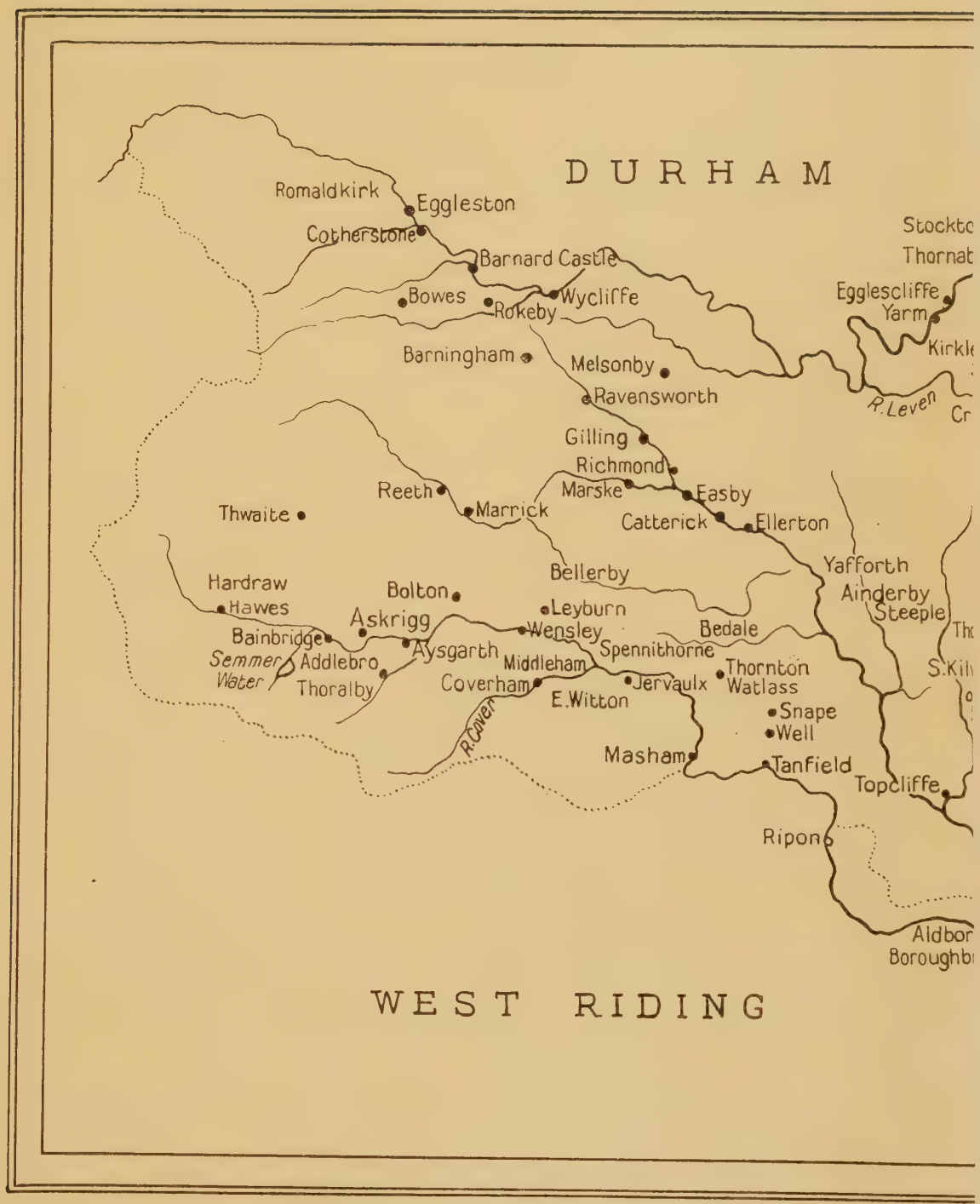
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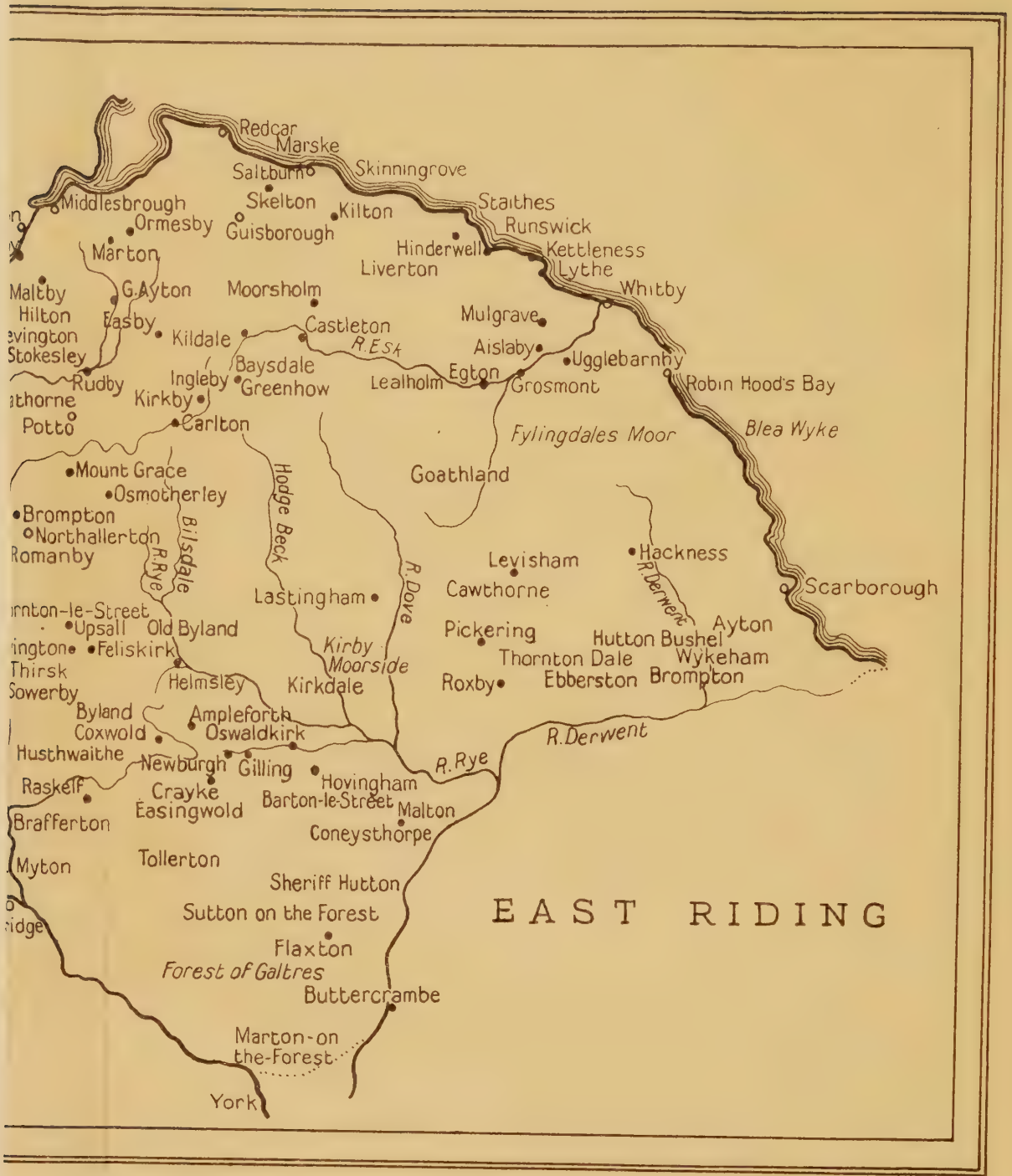

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